

Lord Farnham.

9026. c. 12

HISTORY

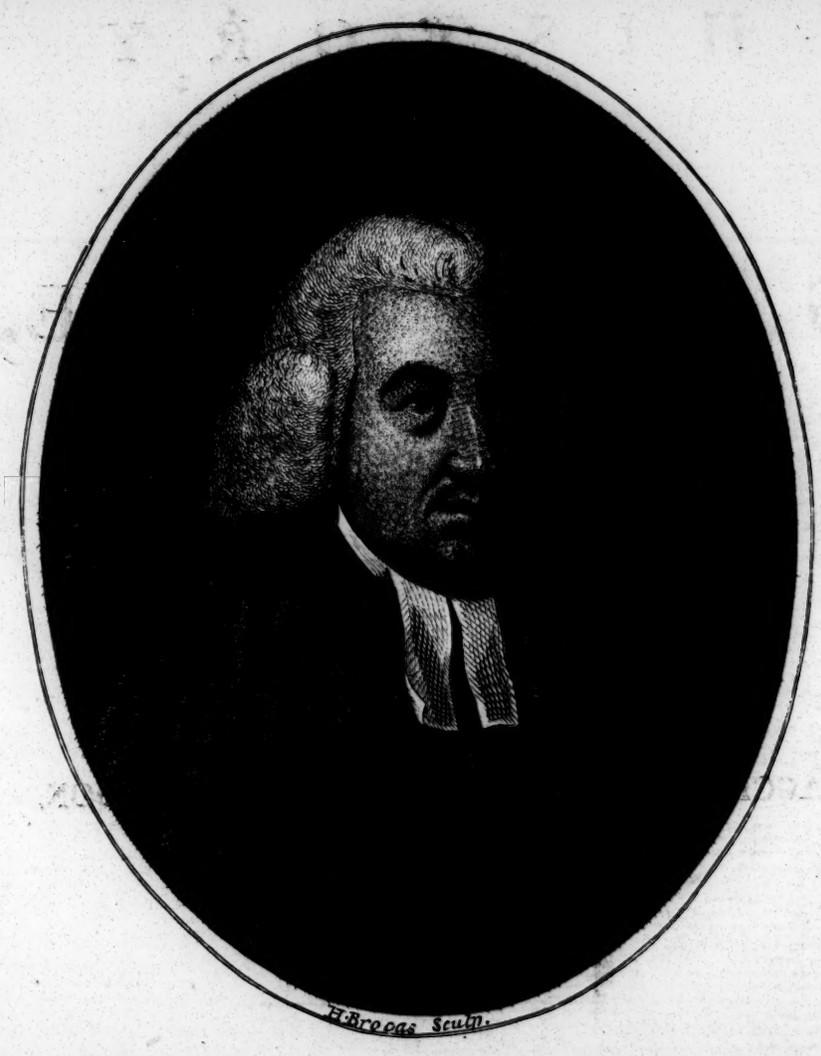
OF

GREECE.

9026.c.12.



BRITISH
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MUSEUM



THE REV.D JOHN GAST, D.D.

Archdeacon of Glandelagh &c. &c

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE,

PROPERLY SO CALLED.

VOL. I.

TO THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON.

By JOHN GAST, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF GLANDELAGH.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JOHN EXSHAW.

—1793.—


BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE

BY THE

EDITOR.

ONE advantage at leaſt, amidſt a number of inconveniences, attends the publication of a poſthumous work, that an opportunity is furniſhed, without hurting the feelings of the author, of giving to the world a juſt account of his life, and of his ſervices to the cauſe of literature. A long and intimate acquaintance with the perſon and family of the late Dr. Gaſt has enabled the editor to gratify curioſity with the following information.

JOHN GAST, D. D. archdeacon of Glandelagh, was born in Dublin July 29, 1715. His father Daniel Gaſt, a proteſtant of Saintonge, in the province of Guyenne, was a regular bred phyſician, and followed his profeſſion in his own country, till he was obliged


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ed by the perſecution of 1684 to eſcape into Ireland, where he entered into the ſervice of Q. Anne, obtained a cornet's commiſſion in Col. Joſeph de Salander's regiment of dragoons, and after the peace of Utrecht, reſuming his original profeſſion, ſettled in Dublin for the remainder of his life. This gentleman was naturalized in 1712, took a doctor's degree in medicine, and is ſaid to have had good ſucceſs in his buſineſs. He married a lady of Bourdeaux, Elizabeth Grenoilleau, a very near relation of the celebrated Baron de Monteſquieu. It deſerves to be remembered here, to the honour of the French nation in general, as well as of that part of it in particular which adopted the reformed religion, that property was conſidered there as a thing ſo ſacred and unalienable, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt prejudices of education, that more than half a century after the retreat of Dr. Gaſt's family from France, his right to an inheritance which then devolved to him was acknowledged, and a ſum not much ſhort of 1000l. was tranſmitted to him from his relations at Bourdeaux, through the hands of his warm friend and admirer, the late Alderman George Sutton.

Our author received the early part of his education in the dioceſan ſchool of St. Patrick's, Dublin, under a ſevere but able ſchoolmaſter, the Rev. Dr. Lloyd, from whoſe

whoſe ferula he paſſed to the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Gilbert, vice provoſt of Trinity-college, Dublin. He obtained his bachelor's degree with honour in that univerſity in 1735, and was prevented only by an early matrimonial engagement* from ſtanding candidate for a fellowſhip, a preferment to which it is well known that none but ſcholars of the moſt eminent induſtry have any pretenſions to aſpire.

ENTERING into holy orders, he began his career by ſerving as chaplain to the French congregation at Portarlington. Thence he removed to Dublin, and about the year 1744 became curate of the pariſh of St. John, firſt under the Rev. Dean Maturin, and then under the Rev. John Owen dean of Clanmacnois. To the labours of this important and fatiguing cure a growing family made it neceſſary for him to add a weekly lecture at St. John's, daily prayers at ſix in the morning in St. Mary's chapel Chriſt-church, and the buſineſs of a ſchoolmaſter.

IN the diſcharge of this laſt duty he was certainly not exceeded by any one maſter that has ever appeared in Dublin. Beſides the learned languages, he taught French to per-

* He married Felicia, only daughter of Andrew Huddleſton, an Engliſh gentleman, a younger ſon of a good family in Cumberland. She is ſtill living.

fection;

fection; was particularly attentive to proſody and compoſition, both Engliſh and Latin; and poſſeſſed a ſingular ability in conveying the rudiments of hiſtory and geography. He was not anxious to augment the number of his ſcholars, which at no one time exceeded thirty; ſo that, for ſeveral years, he continued to ſupport the burden of a ſchool without the aſſiſtance of an uſher. The pariſh of St. John's abounds with poor; and the care of the priſoners in the four-courts marſhalſea, which is annexed to the cure, would appear of itſelf a ſufficient employment for one clergyman. Yet in the midſt of fatigues almoſt beyond belief, our author had the happineſs to preſerve a flow of chearfulneſs, which made his company delightful to the whole pariſh, and to all that had the pleaſure of his acquaintance.

It was under the heavieſt preſſure of theſe multiplied employments, that he compoſed a hiſtory of ancient Greece in the form of a dialogue, and gave it to the public in one octavo volume in the year 1753. The work, which being publiſhed chiefly by the aid of a moderate ſubſcription is now become ſcarce, is not a mere exchange of queſtion and anſwer, but a dramatic dialogue between three characters—a maſter, a ſcholar who has made ſome progreſs in ancient hiſtory, and a novice. The univerſity of Dublin was ſo well

well pleaſed with this performance*, that they conferred on the author the degree of D. D. at the inſtance of the late provoſt Andrews, without any expence. He took this degree in Feb. 1765.

HOWEVER, the dialogue form, which Dr. Gaſt had made choice of to relieve the tediouſneſs of hiſtory, he found many of his readers agree in conſidering as too great an interruption to the courſe of the narrative. Guided by their opinion, he was induced to new-model his work; and in compliance with the ſame advice, he undertook the more arduous taſk of drawing out a complete hiſtory of the Grecian people, from the earlieſt accounts of time, to their final humiliation under the Othman yoke. It was an enterpriſe, which, in the manner he was determined to conduct it, required an uncommon ſhare both of induſtry and leiſure: and although leiſure was never permitted to a man in his ſituation, yet for the concluding ten years of

* Copy from the Regiſtry-book of T. C. D.

Trinity College, Dublin, Feb. 7, 1760.

By order of the Provoſt and Senior Fellows, I certify, that they approve of the *Rudiments of Grecian Hiſtory* publiſhed by the Rev. Mr. *Gaſt*, as a book very proper to be read by young gentlemen at ſchool, for their inſtruction in the Hiſtory of Greece.

FRAN. STO. SULLIVAN, Regiſter.

his

his life, every hour that he could by any exertion make his own was devoted to the attainment of this great object of his wiſhes.

In the proſecution of his labour he changed his plan more than once, but had at laſt fixed on the following arrangement. The entire hiſtory was to be extended to the ſize of three volumes in quarto, the London edition. Of theſe the firſt volume, deducing the hiſtory to the acceſſion of Alexander the great, was to be formed chiefly from his original work, thrown out of a dialogue into a continued narrative. The ſecond was to have traced the fortunes of Greece proper from Alexander's time to the preſent day: and this part he actually publiſhed in London in 1782, prompted, it is likely, to the premature exhibition of this ſecond volume, as a ſeparate work, by the repreſentation of his printer there, who reported to him (and with truth, as the event proved) that two writers of conſiderable ability* were actually engaged in a ſimilar undertaking. In the laſt volume, it was his intention to give to his readers the hiſtory of Alexander's ſucceſſors in Egypt and Aſia; a theme, which is ſo far from having been exhauſted by the labours of modern writers in any country, that on the contrary it may almoſt advance a claim to the title of novelty. Of this truth the diligence

* Mr. Mitford and Dr. Gillies.

of

of the excellent hiſtorian Dr. Robertſon has furniſhed one very manifeſt proof, in his late ingenious diſcovery of the ſtate of European commerce with India under the reign of the Ptolemies.

It is but juſtice to the memory of Dr. Gaſt to obſerve, that in complying with the printer's deſire to have the volume which came out in 1782 brought forward to public view at that early ſeaſon, he himſelf was influenced by no jealouſy or dread of the ſucceſs of a fellow-labourer. The editor has before him two letters, in which our author, after thanking him for the concern he had expreſſed leſt the intended republication in Dublin of Gillies and Mitford's hiſtories ſhould injure the ſale of his own, ſpeaks with ſo much candour on the delicate ſubject of a competitor for literary honour, that it is hoped the public will not be diſpleaſed to ſee an extract from each letter, from whence a judgment may be formed of the temper of mind with which he received the firſt report of the approaching appearance of his two rivals.

'*Newcaſtle, Nov.* 24, 1780.

'As to Dr. Gillies, I queſtion not in the 'leaſt the excellence of his performance. 'But our plans may differ. It is likely, he 'may not take in as extenſive a period as I 'have in view. And ſhould we even follow

'the

'the ſame line, and draw exactly from the 'ſame ſources, yet he may not ſee matters 'in the ſame light that I do. Were there 'even to be no other difference, yet the 'manner and ſtyle of two writers, who have 'any thing of originality and are not merely 'copiers, muſt give to the work of each of 'them a peculiar and diſtinguiſhing caſt. So 'that, how juſtly ſoever he may be deſerving 'of the public approbation, it does not cer-'tainly follow, that your friend muſt be ſent 'to the paſtry cook's. Not to ſay, that, if 'the only advantage I have a chance for is to 'have my work iſſue abroad before Dr. Gillies 'can make his appearance, it is an advantage 'of no great value. The laſt comer is not 'always the worſt off, unleſs a turtle-feaſt is 'the buſineſs. And Mr. Murray knows well, 'how little reſemblance there is between a 'turtle-feaſt and literary diet.'

'*January* 8, 1785.

'WITH reſpect to Mr. Mitford's publica-'tion, I am altogether eaſy about it. In 'London the publication of a hiſtory, even 'of the Engliſh nation, has not prevented 'the publication and favourable reception of 'another ſuch hiſtory. Concerning the 'hiſtory of Greece, eſpecially the earlier ages 'of that country, various ſchemes may be 'adopted, and the ſame tranſactions may be 'placed

'placed in different lights, according to the 'genius and principles of the writer, and 'the impreſſion made on his mind. . . . . 'In conſequence, however, of your advice 'reſpecting a republication of Mitford here, 'where we move in a more confined ſphere, 'I called on Alderman Exſhaw: but, on 'my way to him, it occurred to me, what 'an improper part I ſhould act, were I to 'prevent the publication of a work, merely 'becauſe it might claſh with my private in-'tereſt. A printer is properly a truſtee for 'the public. And if a work is really worthy 'of the public peruſal, and may contribute to 'the improvement of the public manners, 'ſhall a printer, from pique or favour, with-'hold ſuch a work from the community, to 'whoſe inſtruction he is by his profeſſion 'bound to adminiſter? Upon this principle, 'I barely mentioned to Mr. Exſhaw my 'intention of publiſhing my whole hiſtory in 'Ireland in the courſe of the year now cur-'rent, and left it to him to judge how far my 'ſcheme, ſhould it be attended with ſucceſs, 'might lower the value of that edition of 'Mitford which he had in view. Was I 'right? What he has done, I know not.'

To theſe extracts I ſhall venture to ſubjoin a third, taken from the beginning of the laſt mentioned letter, becauſe it furniſhes a ſhort and authentic explanation of the reaſon, why the publication of this whole hiſtory was deferred ſo long, that the hand of fate at length arreſted

arreſted the worthy author before he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing it completed.

'My Grecian hiſtory, at preſent my grand 'object, I thought to have ready for the preſs 'by March at fartheſt. A very important 'law-ſuit, which affects ſome near friends of 'mine, and in which I had taken an active 'part theſe two years paſt, has ſince the be-'ginning of October required my attention 'in a very particular manner. A reference, 'under the ſanction of the court of exchequer, 'had been agreed to, for the purpoſe of ad-'juſting the accounts in queſtion. And in 'order to bring theſe accounts in the fulleſt 'and faireſt point of view before the referees, 'it was found neceſſary to unravel the intrica-'cies of a long and complicated account of 'thirty years. And this labour, at the ex-'pence of ten hours a day writing for two 'months, have I been obliged to go through. 'The ground is now tolerably open, and the 'referees, I truſt, will have a complete exhi-'bition of the true ſtate of things. This, you 'may judge, has delayed me.'

And delay him it did, unfortunately for others beſides himſelf, till the final cloſe of an active and well-ſpent life obliged him to leave to his family the ſettling of an account, which, there is reaſon to fear, is not to this day adjuſted.

Dr.

Dr. Gast had continued a curate in the dioceſe of Dublin for the ſpace of ſeventeen years, when his acknowledged merit was at length rewarded by archbiſhop Cobbe, who in 1761 preſented him to the living of Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, worth in the groſs about 300l. yearly. His grace's bounty did not ſtop here: for in June 1764 he was pleaſed to add to Arklow the archdeaconry of Glandelagh with the pariſh of Newcaſtle, about eight miles from Dublin, annexed, which nearly doubled his income. Between the date of this laſt preferment and the former, our author had recommended himſelf to the particular regard of the archbiſhop by the attention he paid to the education of his grace's grandſon, the preſent Charles Cobbe, Eſq. who was truſted to his care in his rural retirement near Arklow. After he had removed to the parſonage houſe at Newcaſtle, he continued for ſome years to educate a few boarders, but as a charge ſo moderate, that the advantage reſted too much on their ſide; ſo that encreaſe of years, conſpiring with very moderate deſires, induced him at length to relinquiſh the profeſſion of a claſſical teacher entirely. Archbiſhop Cradock had beſides made it neceſſary for him to devote a conſiderable ſhare of his time to a town pariſh, by giving him in exchange for Arklow, which lies at too great a diſtance from the corps of the archdeaconry, the cure of St. Nicolas-

without in Dublin, in value nearly equal to what he reſigned for it, but in weight of duty much more conſiderable. He was appointed curate of St. Nicolas-without in the year 1775; and in this ſtation, among many other beneficial exertions, he planned and had the pleaſure of carrying into execution a ſcheme of weekly contributions for the relief of the numerous poor in that great reſort of manufacturers; a ſcheme, which was and is ſtill productive of incredible good.

INDEED to his able and exemplary conduct, in the ſeveral offices to which he was called in the church, the moſt ample teſtimony of facts may be adduced. In the pariſh of St. John, where he ſpent the moſt active part of his life, he was ſo entirely beloved, that they preſented him, on his departure, with a piece of plate of uncommon value in proportion to the ability of that pariſh, with an inſcription expreſſing in the moſt honourable terms their ſenſe of his long and faithful ſervices. A ſimilar compliment, and the firſt of the kind that was paid to one of its members by that corporation, was made to Dr. Gaſt by the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, the year that he ſerved the office of proctor. To the Roman catholics, who form a large majority of the pariſh of Newcaſtle, he was not the leſs acceptable for being known to be the author of a well-meant attempt to reconcile

concile them to proteſtantiſm, in a tract to which he did not affix his name, intitled, *a Letter from a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed church of Ireland to thoſe of his pariſhioners who are of the popiſh communion*: *Dublin, Sleater*, 1767: a work, which deſerves to be preſerved in the library of every proteſtant, for the ſake of its reaſoning; and of every chriſtian, for the ſpirit of benevolence that may be imbibed from it.

When the life of their much reſpected paſtor was terminated at length by the gout in the year 1788, a ſubſcription was immediately opened among his pariſhioners of every deſcription, to erect a handſome marble monument to his memory in the pariſh church of Newcaſtle, which, by ſome unlucky accidents, though long in the ſculptor's hands, is not yet ready to be ſet up. An epitaph, ſaid to be from the pen of his immediate ſucceſſor in that pariſh, was ordered to be inſcribed on the monument, which does ſo much juſtice to the character of the deceaſed, that the editor, conſcious of his own inability to draw up a better, has been tempted to annex it entire to this account.

EPITAPH.

In the adjoining chancel lie the remains of
JOHN GAST, D. D.
Late Archdeacon of Glandelagh, and
Curate of St. Nicolas without:
Who departed this life the 25. of Feb. 1788,
Aged 72 years and ſix months.
For 23 years and upwards,
This pariſh was happy in the fruits
Of his miniſterial labours.
Affable, chearful, learned, zealous, charitable,
He conciliated the affections of all;
And his life preſented
An engaging example of that chriſtian practice,
Which with perſuaſive energy he recommended,
As a miniſter of the goſpel.

In grateful remembrance of his ſervices,
His pariſhioners have placed this ſtone,
A memorial to poſterity:
Deſirous, that their children may venerate
The beauty of religion exemplified in a good life,
And aſpire after the attainment of thoſe virtues,
Which are acceptable with GOD,
And cauſe the dead to be remembered
With affection and reſpect.

THE public has a right to aſk, by what means the office of collecting and laying before them the materials that compoſe the firſt volume of the following hiſtory (for the *ſecond* came out, as we have ſaid, in 1782*, in the author's life time) has devolved upon the editor.

THE moſt important benefit, which one human creature can receive from another, is the bleſſing of a good education. It is a ſervice, which, if faithfully executed, can never be compenſated by money; and to the man, and to the whole family of the man, from whom I learned to ſpeak, and think, and feel as a cultured mind will help us to do, would I labour, as long as God ſhould grant me life and means, to teſtify my gratitude. I was his ſcholar, and the firſt with whom he opened his ſchool. He cheriſhed me as a parent, till my literary toils were overpaid with the attainment of a fellowſhip in Dublin college, and he loved me as a friend ever after. For he was not the character that Dr. Johnſon had in view, when he remarked, I fear with too good authority from daily experience, that "among the evils which ariſe "from the viciſſitudes of life, one of the moſt "common is the mutability of friendſhips."

IN the unreſerved confidence to which the author admitted me, I was of courſe a party

* In London, but not in Dublin. The entire hiſtory was never publiſhed till now.

to his ſcheme of altering that dialogue-hiſtory, which had been my inſtructor when I was a boy; and he condeſcended alſo to liſten to my advice as to ſeparating the ſtory of the Macedonian kings from that of the other ſucceſſors of Alexander, the intermixture of which parallel, yet diſtinct, hiſtories is a heavy incumbrance on the memory and patience of a young reader. If it be now a ſubject of juſt concern, that he did not live to fill up his outline by the addition of a third volume to the work here offered to public view, it is at leaſt a conſolation to me to reflect, that in perſuading him to keep clear of the tranſactions of Syria and Egypt, I put it into his power to give the finiſhing hand to his ſecond volume, and to be himſelf a witneſs to its favourable reception.

SEVENTY years of life, together with frequent viſits of the gout, did not diſcourage his ardent ſpirit from looking forward to the conſummation of his enterpriſe: but eſpecially he always perſuaded himſelf, the new caſting of his firſt work would be a matter of ſo little difficulty, that he might count upon its execution by a *coup de main* at any time: and what may be done at *any* time is very apt, we know, to be done at *no* time. He began, however, as I have ended, by adopting the greateſt part of his original *Rudiments* (as he modeſtly called them) of the Grecian hiſtory, without their dramatic form; and he had advanced

vanced as far as the ſecond book, when he appears to have made a great alteration, as well in the plan itſelf of his work, as in his manner of writing; and ſuch an alteration, as, I muſt take leave to ſay, I do not think an improvement. As if he had been apprehenſive of a defect of matter, or was carried away by the ſucceſs of ſome late refiners, who chooſe to give us the *ſpirit* of hiſtory inſtead of *facts*, with which laſt they ſeem to take it for granted the reader is already perfectly acquainted, he grew diffuſive, and argumentative, and conjectural; inſomuch that he had, in his firſt book, (as he began it anew) diſcovered not leſs than *twenty-one* reaſons why the ancient Greeks were ſo addicted to mythology. All this ſuperfluity however, we may reaſonably preſume, his after judgment would have rejected; for the writer muſt have plenty before him, who wiſhes to make a ſelection. Neither ſhould I have mentioned the circumſtance here, if ſome apology had not appeared neceſſary to ſuch of the author's friends as may chance to be in poſſeſſion hereafter of his papers, for my not adopting his *ſecond thoughts*.

In one of his ſerious alarms from the gout, he ſketched out, in faltering and for the moſt part ſcarcely legible characters, the form of a laſt will, in which I found, after his deceaſe, very plainly the following words:

"As

"As to my Grecian hiſtory, perhaps Dr. Stock——" What followed, I could not read; nor in truth was it neceſſary.

THE invocation of a beloved friend, at the moment when the tomb is cloſing upon him, is ſolemn and irreſiſtible. I might have urged, that I have as little leiſure as moſt people. I might have ſaid, with equal adherence to fact, that I have never been able even to approach to the enviable faculty of doing more things than one at a time. But I knew, that with ſome pains-taking, and ſome encroachment on my own buſineſs, there was a chance, that I might ſerve at once the memory of the dead and the intereſts of the living; for a widow and daughter, not left in a ſtate of independence, may profit conſiderably by the indulgence of a generous public to this work. I undertook the taſk, therefore, without foreſeeing how much of my reward I was to receive in the very proſecution of it.

TRANSCRIBING thoſe well-known pages, which had afforded to my opening mind a mingled delight, as well from the intereſting nature of the ſtory (for ſurely there is no hiſtory more intereſting than the Grecian) as from my veneration of its narrator, carried a pleaſure along with it, which I had not looked for. Memory brought back, at almoſt every paragraph, the golden days of childhood, when I was encouraged, not to read only,

only, but to animadvert on, every incident that ſupplied matter of diſquiſition, to queſtion the authenticity of a fact, and even to diſpute with the author himſelf on the judgment he had paſſed upon it. For ſuch was his method of continuing inſtruction to us, when the regular hours of teaching were over.

He would propoſe a query on the hiſtorical leſſon of the day: Was it probable, that Lycurgus took an oath of his Spartans to obſerve his laws for the time that he ſhould be abſent from them? and if that legiſlator believed they would keep the oath, was he to blame for killing himſelf? What are we to think of *the genius* of Socrates? was it real, or the illuſion of a heated fancy? Who was the wiſer counſellor for Athens, Demoſthenes or Phocion?—with many more of the like nature. And it was a triumph, if he could provoke us to conſign our puny arguments to writing. Indeed he would himſelf give no little animation to the debate by the ſallies of a natural vivacity, which overleaping place and time would ſet him down, as it were, in the midſt of the people he was deſcanting upon; and to hear him talk of the *ſcoundrel* Flamininus, or the *villain* Paulus Æmilius, you could imagine no leſs, than that the ſpeaker himſelf was one of the thouſand hoſtages from Achaia*, whom a perfidious policy

* See Vol. 2. p. 534.

detained,

detained, till they became *fine old Grecians* in Italy.

How far the pleaſurable aſſociation of ideas I have now deſcribed may have influenced my judgment, when I ſubjoin my earneſt teſtimony, ſuch as it is, to the merit of the following hiſtory, it is not for me to determine: aſſuredly I pleaſe myſelf with the hope, that it will be found a valuable acceſſion to the library, at leaſt, of the *young* reader. The language is ſimple, neither turgid nor creeping. Curioſity is kept awake by a judicious and well connected detail, where nothing ſeems to have been omitted that is material, nothing is introduced to ſwell the ſize of the volume, or to ſhew off the writer more than his ſubject. Moral inſtruction, the moſt precious fruit of the ſtudy of hiſtory, is not forgotten, wherever there is an open for it; and the leſſon is ſuch, as might have been expected to proceed out of a heart, that overflowed with love towards God and man.

JOSEPH STOCK.

Delgany, 24 *June*, 1793.

THE

THE

AUTHOR'S

PREFACE.

THE annals of Greece include, perhaps, the moſt intereſting and inſtructive portion of the Hiſtory of Man. They exhibit the gradual progreſs of a people, from the rudeneſs of ſavage life to the perfection of refinement and civility. They mark the ſteps, by which this illuſtrious part of mankind advanced to the firſt rank among the families of the earth; although they were inconſiderable in numbers, in riches, and in the extent or fertility of territory. Surmounting the diſadvantages of their ſituation, they diſputed the prize of empire with the great powers of Aſia; and bore away the palm of arts as well as arms from the nations of

of the Eaſt, who for ages had poſſeſſed it unrivalled and uncontrolled. But while we admire the Greeks as diſtinguiſhed by ſignal atchievements, and dignified by every noble exertion of the human mind, we remark with pain, even in the zenith of their glory, the approaching decline of public virtue, and are led to contemplate the bold enchroachments of venality and diſcord, which reduced by degrees this extraordinary people to the moſt abject ſtate of ſervitude and inſignificance.

STRUCK with theſe revolutions of fortune, we cannot fail to derive from them an ample ſource of inſtruction. They point out and illuſtrate the ſure means of advancing the proſperity and happineſs of nations. The age of glory to Greece was the age of virtuous manners. Corrupted by ſucceſs, her proſperity departed from her. The diverſities of her ſtory, amidſt the paſſions they excite, bespeak forcibly the ſuperintendency of a Divine Providence, and inculcate the important truth, that happineſs is the reward of virtue, and miſery the conſequence of vice.

WHEN ſurveyed in a proper light, the hiſtory of antient times is the ſchool of wiſdom. To form a juſt eſtimate of the manners and inſtitutions of nations now ſubſiſting,

is a taſk which is always difficult, and often invidious. In judging of events too near the preſent day, we are apt to be miſled by our prejudices. The ſprings of action are, in general, hid from our obſervation; and we are under the neceſſity of reaſoning from views that are confined and partial. The tranſient operation of ſome incidental circumſtance is often miſtaken for a firſt cauſe; and we praiſe or condemn meaſures of which we know not the principle, and cannot aſcertain the tendency. The caſe, however, of nations who have run their career is very different. We have before us the whole line of their hiſtory. We behold the riſe, the progreſs, and the termination of their fortunes. We diſcover the advantages and the defects of their polity, and can unfold the miſtakes of their rulers. We obſerve the coincidence of conduct and ſucceſs which exalted them to power; and can trace the degeneracy and misfortunes which haſtened their decline. Unbiaſſed by connection, and undiſtracted by oppoſition of intereſts, truth alone becomes the object of our curioſity and ſearch. Unawed by ſtation, we call to account the proudeſt prince; and unſuſpected of flattery, we beſtow upon every gallant deed the full portion of glory which it merits.

BUT while theſe advantages apply to the tranſactions of the Greeks, there is another favourable circumſtance which attended them. Greece abounded in excellent writers, in generals, philoſophers, and ſtateſmen; and by theſe the memorials of her hiſtory have been tranſmitted to poſterity. Of ſuch men the compoſitions cannot be ſufficiently eſteemed. They enjoyed a ſhare in the councils of their country; they acted a part in the ſcenes they deſcribe; they were fully informed concerning the laws and the conſtitutions of the ſtates whoſe fortunes they record; they had the honeſty and theboldneſs to detect and expoſe the errors from which any public miſadventure had ariſen; and often, at the peril of their lives, they reſiſted and repreſſed the paſſionate exceſſes of a capricious and miſguided multitude.

THERE are five periods, into which the Hiſtory of Greece may be divided.

I. THE firſt period, during which Greece may be conſidered as emerging into life, extends from the earlieſt accounts of the foundation of its ſtates to the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidae; and includes a ſpace of about ſix hundred years. In this period, independently of the Argonautic expedition, and of many heroic atchievements which are involved in the darkneſs of fable, there are comprehended

hended the inſtitution of the Amphictyonic council, the Trojan war, the legiſlations of Minos, of Lycurgus, of Solon, and what chiefly contributed to form the Grecian character, the eſtabliſhment of the liberties of Athens.

II. The ſecond period is properly the age of glory of the Grecian people, and takes in about ſixty years. It commences with the ejection of the Piſiſtratidae, and cloſes with the death of Cimon. It is adorned with the noble exertions of the Greeks againſt the Perſian power, at Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plateae, and Eurymedon.

III. The third period compriſes about one hundred and fourteen years, from the death of Cimon to that of Philip of Macedon. Here the proſpect is obſcured. The power and opulence, which Greece had purchaſed by her victories, introduced oſtentation, luxury, and inſolence. Her ſtates, relieved from the terror of a foreign enemy, divided againſt each other; and, inſtead of being animated with a generous zeal for the public happineſs, were pervaded and diſgraced by diſſolute pleaſures, an oppreſſive ſpirit, and the luſt of dominion. It was now that Greece began to decline. But her wealth, her magnificence, the arts in which ſhe excelled,

excelled, the perfection of her drama, her ſkill and advancement in philoſophy, in eloquence, and in literature, the poliſh of her manners, and the elegance of her taſte, continued to give her the appearance of importance and of vigour. Her real ſtrength, however, was decayed; and the diſaſters that enſued, firſt in the courſe of the Peloponneſian war, afterwards at Leuctra and Mantinea, and at length at Chaeronea, were the natural calamities which a people might expect, who had given way to ruinous diſſipations, who were broken into factions, and who were falſe to themſelves.

IV. The fourth period extends from the acceſſion of Alexander the Great, the founder of the empire of the Greeks, as it is ſometimes called, to the firſt interference of the Romans in the affairs of Greece. In this eventful period a total revolution of intereſts was produced. The overthrow of the Perſian empire by the arms of Macedon, which the Prophets had announced, gave a beginning to the buſy ſcene; and Alexander's fortunes, as it had been foretold, terminated here, his kindred and poſterity having periſhed: inſtead of enjoying any advantage from his conqueſts, they were perhaps undone by them. Nor did his atchievements operate to the proſperity of Greece, or even of Macedon. Depopulation, a diſputed throne, and the

the repeated inroads of enemies, brought Macedon to the brink of deſtruction. Inteſtine diviſions, and a general decay of virtue, reduced Greece from a ſtate of ſplendour to a condition the moſt contemptible. One commonwealth, that of Achaia, was all that remained; and though it had formerly been little known, its improved polity, and unbroken manners, might have rendered it the bulwark of Greece. This, however, was prevented by the jealouſy of its turbulent neighbours. Envious of its growing power, they provoked a war, in which all Greece was ſoon involved, and which at laſt invited the Roman ambition, and effected the ruin of this unhappy country. From the acceſſion of Alexander to the entry of the Romans into Greece, there elapſed one hundred and twenty-four years.

V. THE period, which cloſes the melancholy proſpect of the Grecian decline, comprehends the ſeveral plans of avowed hoſtility and of diſguiſed perfidiouſneſs, which the Romans employed in order to ſubject and accuſtom this illuſtrious people to the yoke of ſervitude. It includes their wars, affected lenity, and inſidious conventions with the princes of Macedon, until they had brought that kingdom to a final ſubmiſſion; their treatment of the Aetolians, and of the Epirots; their memorable treachery to Achaia;

Achaia; the burning of Corinth; the utter extinction of liberty in Greece; the various calamities which flowed from Roman oppreſſion, or the incurſions of barbarians, during the long period of ſixteen hundred years, till the taking of Conſtantinople by the Othmans delivered this unfortunate country into the hands of other tyrants; and finally, the condition in which the abject race, who now bear the name of Greeks, are to be found at this day, under the cruel and humiliating ſcourge of deſpotiſm.

To compriſe in two volumes the hiſtory of theſe ſeveral periods is the object of the preſent undertaking, upon which the Author has employed the pains and the induſtry that correſpond with its importance. It does not, however, become him to affirm, that his abilities were equal to the taſk in which he has been engaged; and while he ſubmits himſelf with diffidence to the judgment of the public, he knows and reſpects its impartiality. During the courſe of his labours, he has pleaſed himſelf with the reflection, that a ſincere deſire of contributing to the proſperity of his country was impreſſed upon his mind; and he felt himſelf to be animated with the hope, that the errors and miſ-

fortunes

fortunes of other nations and other times might induce his fellow-citizens to ſet the higheſt value upon a conſtitution which has freedom for its object, and which protects and ſupports the natural and inherent rights of mankind.

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Reed Major John
Richards Fitzherbert, Eſq.
Robinſon Rev. Thomas, D. D.
Rorke Turner, Eſq.
Roſe Alderman John

S

Sall George, Eſq.
Sandes Henry, Eſq.
Sandys Rev. Michael, A. M.
Saunders Lady Martha
Schomberg Sir Alexander, Knt.

Shannon Earl of
Shaw Robert, Eſq.
Shaw Alexander William, Eſq.
Shaw Randall, Eſq.
Shea Mrs.
Shuldham Lord
Shuldham Lady
Smith Mrs.
Smyth Rev. Thomas, Archdeacon of Liſmore, L. L. D.
Stannard Mrs.
Stannard Miſs
Stears Mrs.
Stephenſon James, D. M.
Stevelly Robert, Eſq.
Stock Mrs. Anne
Stock Rev. Joſeph, D. D.
Stock Maſter Edwin
Stock Stephen, Eſq. 2 Setts.
Stokes Whitley, M. D. F. T. C. D.
Stopford Hon. General
Stopford Hon. and Rev. Thomas, Dean of Ferns.
Stopford Rev. William, A. M. F. T. C. D.
Stopford James, Eſq.
Strangford Lord Viſcount
Stratford Benjamin O. N. Eſq.
Stratford Maſter Maſon G. Benj.
Straton Lieut. Gen.

Stuart Sir James, Bart.
Sutton Mrs.
Sutton Miſs

T

Taylor Edward, Eſq.
Thomas Mrs.
Thomas Rev. Walter, A. M.
Thompſon Mrs.
Thompſon Samuel, Eſq. Belfaſt
Tiſdall Mrs. of Valambroſia, County of Dublin,
Tiſdall Mrs. Charlesfort, County of Meath.
Townſend Richard, M. D.
Travers Mrs.
Trench Mrs. M.
Truell Rev. Robt. A. M,
Truell Mrs.

V

Vavaſor Mrs.
Vaughan Mr. George
Verſchoyle Rev. James, A. M.
Veſey Major George, Lucan.
Veſey Rev. John Agmondeſham, A. M.
Veſey Rev. George, A. M. Royal Hoſpital.
Vincent Mrs.
Vincent Rev. ———, A. M.
Uſher Rev. J. A. M. F. T. C. D.

W

Wade Robt. Watſon, Eſq. M. R. I. A.
Walker Major, Bath.

Walker Mr. Solomon
Waller Robt. Eſq. Allenſtown.
Wall Thomas, Eſq. of Milltown C. of Dublin.
Wall Mrs.
Wall Maſter Thos. Wm. John
Waterford Lord Biſhop of, 10 ſetts.
Warren Edward, Eſq.
Warren Alderman Nathaniel
Weld Matthew, Eſq.
Weld Maſter Matthew
Weſtby Nicolas, Eſq.
Wicklow Lady
Wilton Thos. Eſq.
Wilton John, Eſq.
Wogan Rev. ———, A. M.
Wolfe Rt. Hon. Arthur, Attorney Gen.
Wolfe Theobald, Eſq. Blackhall.
Wolfe John, Eſq. Forenaughts.
Woods Edward, Eſq.
Woods John, Eſq.
Woodward Rev. Charles, D. D.
Woodward Henry, Eſq. T. C. D.
Wybrants Stephen, Eſq.
Wybrants Robert, Eſq.

Y

Yeates Thomas, Eſq.
Yelverton Rt. Hon. Barry, Lord Chief Baron.
Young Rev. Matthew, D. D. F. T. C. D.

HISTORY

TABULA COSMOGRAPHICA GRAECIÆ ANTIQUÆ.

ADRIATICI MARIS PARS

IONIUM MARE

Parthini
Epidamnus seu Dyrrachium
Almopi
Albani
Albanopolis
Panyasus Flu.
Apsus Flu.
Taulantii
Genusus Flu.
Scampes
Lychnidus
Lyncestis
Pelium
Apollonia
Aous R.
Geruns
Daulia
Defsaretæ
Europus
Saſaa
Aulon
Brundusium
Elimiotis
Bullis
Elyma
Orestis
Amantia mediterranea
Amantia
Celetrum
Oricum
Antigonia
Chaonia
Omphalium
Elyma
Chimæra
Dodona
Panormus
Acroceraunii Montes
Onchesmus
Elæus
Cassiope
Molossis
Pandosia
Buthrotum
Corcyra Inf.
Thyamis Flu.
Sybota
Acheron Flu.
Elæa
Actium
Paxi Insulæ
Acarnania
Azylea
Leucas
Echinades
Ithaca
Cephalenia Inf.
Cephalenia
Zacynthus
Strophades

A Scale of Miles of 5280 Feet each.
5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80

A Scale of Stadia of 625 Feet each.
50 100 200 300 400 500 600 700

46 47 48 49 50 51

Horma
Hæmus Mons
Europus
Pelagonia
Mygdo- Sintica
Heraclea Sintica
Echedorus sive Chidorus Fl.
Strymon
Philipp
Edones
Berga
Eion
Amphipolis
Flu.
Oesyma
Oæneum
Uscana
Axius
Stobi
Antigonea
Asorus
Mellisurgis
Euporia
Deuriopus
Europus
Physca
Thermae, post Thessalonica
Alorus
Lete
Arethusa
Argilus
Doberus
Heraclea
Erigon Flu.
Pella
Aenia
Stagira
Arnissa
Sindus
Campsa
Acanthus
Amphaxitis
Chalcidice
A C E =
Caleastra
Sane
AEmathia
Augæa
Pelium
Gordyniæ sue
Gortynea
Sinthus
Moryllus
Stratonice
Prol.
Pidorus
Chalcis
Singus
Sin
Antigonia
Olynthus
Torone
Scydra
Cyrrhus
Berroea
Ludias Flu.
Mieza
Alorus
Bermius M.
Methone
Pydna
Sinus Toronæus
Haliacmon Flu.
Pallene sue Phlegra
Scione
Canastræum Prom.
Mende
Aegea
Pieria
Dium
Laodicea
Pierus M.
Phyla
Pharstus
Aeginium
Cymos Cephalæ
Heraeum
Aloneſus
Callithera
Olympus M.
Tricca
Tempe
Atrax
Pelinna
Phacium
Larissa
Meliboea
Ossa
Magnesia
Peneus Flu.
Cypæra
Pherae
Sciathus
Podosia
Apidanus Flu.
Amphetae
Pelion
Magneria
Pharsalus
Toleus
Phylace
Enipeus Flu.
Pagasae
Icynthus
Coronta
Pagaseus Sinus
Tolcos
Othrys M.
Pandosia
Malliæa
Artemisium Prom.
Ambracia
Spercheus Flu.
Antron
Coronea
Dium
Oreum
Ptelon
Echinus
Phalachtia
Hypata
Argos Amphilochicum
Histiæa
Sinus Maliacus
Chalcis
Actium
Pindus M.
Trachin
Boium
Oeta Mons
Thermopylae
Locri
Opus
Aulis
Cytineum
Pindus
Cephisus Fl.
M. Cnemis
Chaeronea
Parnassus M.
Delphi
Eleatea
Cirrha
Antic yra
Rhium prom.
Sinus Crisæus
Helice
Lechaeum
Dulichium
Patræ
Egium
Egyra
Corinthus
Ithaca
ACHAIA
Bura
PROPRIA
Sicyon
Cleonæ
Nemea
Mycenæ
Medea
Erymanthus M.
Cyllene M.
Larisus Fl.
Dyme
Stymphalus
Argos
Epidaurus
ARCADIA
PELOPONNESUS
Cynthia
Troezene
Pholoe M.
Pheneus M.
Styx
Ornæa
Argolis
Lerna
Nonacris M.
Pylus Eliaca
Elis
Peneus Fl.
Megalopolis
Pylus Triphyl.
Triphylia
Mantinea
Tegea
Prasiae
Sinus Argolicus
Alphaeus
Lepreon
Phygalea
Strophades
Sparta seu Lacedaemon
Epine
Taygetus Mons
Cyparissia
Thuria
Lepreum
Messenia
Ithome
Phera
Amyclae
Eurotas Flu.
Zarex
Epidaurus Limera
Messene
Cardamyle
Helos
Sinus Messenius
Erythrum
Aeria
Boea
Methone
Corona
Gythium
Malea
Trinasus
Leuctrum
Sinus Laconicus
Aeritas prom.
MARE
Cythera
Taenarum
Laconia
Phocis
Locri Ozolae
Boeotia
Thebae
Ismenus Fl.
Rhamnus
Marathon
Orchomenus
Thespiae
Lebadia
Coronaea
Platææ
Azylea
Calydon
Naupactus
Amphissa
Creusa
Oenoe
Megara
Attica
Molychria
Antirrhion
Cirrha
Eleusis
Acharnae
Athenae
Piraeus
Phalerus
Echinades
Rhium prom.
Sinus Saronicus
Aegina
Salamis
Cenchreae
Strophades
Ithaca
Dulichium
Acarnania
Aetolia
Achelous Flu.
Evenus Flu.
Asopus Fl.
Nisaea
Pamisus Fl.
Ilissus Fl.
Cephisus Fl.
Orchomenus
Thespiae
Lebadia
Coronaea
Platææ
Ismenus Fl.
Rhamnus
Marathon
Oenoe
Megara
Attica
Eleusis
Acharnae
Athenae
Piraeus
Phalerus
Sinus Saronicus
Aegina
Salamis
Cenchreae
Corinthus
Sicyon
Cleonæ
Nemea
Mycenæ
Medea
Epidaurus
Cynthia
Troezene
Argolis
Ornæa
Lerna
Argolicus
Sinus
Laconia
Helos
Boea
Malea
Cythera
Sinus Laconicus
MARE
Taenarum
Leuctrum
Gythium
Trinasus
Aeria
Erythrum
Zarex
Epidaurus Limera
Sparta seu Lacedaemon
Taygetus Mons
Amyclae
Eurotas Flu.
Cardamyle
Messenia
Sinus Messenius
Messene
Methone
Corona
Aeritas prom.
Pylus Eliaca
Elis
Peneus Fl.
Megalopolis
Mantinea
Tegea
Prasiae
Pylus Triphyl.
Triphylia
Alphaeus
Lepreon
Phygalea
Epine
Cyparissia
Lepreum
Thuria
Ithome
Phera
Strophades
Ithaca
Dulichium
Patræ
Egium
Egyra
Achaia Bura Propria
Corinthus
Sicyon
Cleonæ
Nemea
Mycenæ
Medea
Epidaurus
Cynthia
Troezene
Argolis
Ornæa
Lerna
Erymanthus M.
Cyllene M.
Stymphalus
Argos
Arcadia
Pholoe M.
Pheneus M.
Styx
Nonacris M.
Megalopolis
Mantinea
Tegea
Prasiae
Sinus Argolicus
Lepreon
Phygalea
Sparta seu Lacedaemon
Taygetus Mons
Epine
Cyparissia
Thuria
Lepreum
Ithome
Phera
Amyclae
Eurotas Flu.
Zarex
Epidaurus Limera
Messene
Cardamyle
Helos
Sinus Messenius
Erythrum
Aeria
Boea
Methone
Corona
Gythium
Malea
Trinasus
Leuctrum
Sinus Laconicus
Aeritas prom.
MARE
Cythera
Taenarum
Laconia
Phocis
Locri Ozolae
Boeotia
Thebae
Ismenus Fl.
Rhamnus
Marathon
Orchomenus
Thespiae
Lebadia
Coronaea
Platææ
Azylea
Calydon
Naupactus
Amphissa
Creusa
Oenoe
Megara
Attica
Molychria
Antirrhion
Cirrha
Eleusis
Acharnae
Athenae
Piraeus
Phalerus
Echinades
Rhium prom.
Sinus Crisæus
Sinus Saronicus
Aegina
Salamis
Cenchreae
Strophades
Ithaca
Dulichium
Acarnania
Aetolia
Achelous Flu.
Evenus Flu.
Asopus Fl.
Nisaea
Pamisus Fl.
Ilissus Fl.
Cephisus Fl.
M. Cnemis
Chaeronea
Parnassus M.
Delphi
Eleatea
Cirrha
Antic yra
Rhium prom.
Sinus Crisæus
Helice
Lechaeum
Dulichium
Patræ
Egium
Egyra
Achaia Bura Propria
Corinthus
Sicyon
Cleonæ
Nemea
Mycenæ
Medea
Epidaurus
Cynthia
Troezene
Argolis
Ornæa
Lerna
Argolicus
Sinus
Laconia
Helos
Boea
Malea
Cythera
Sinus Laconicus
MARE
Taenarum
Leuctrum
Gythium
Trinasus
Aeria
Erythrum
Zarex
Epidaurus Limera
Sparta seu Lacedaemon
Taygetus Mons
Amyclae
Eurotas Flu.
Cardamyle
Messenia
Sinus Messenius
Messene
Methone
Corona
Aeritas prom.
Pylus Eliaca
Elis
Peneus Fl.
Megalopolis
Mantinea
Tegea
Prasiae
Pylus Triphyl.
Triphylia
Alphaeus
Lepreon
Phygalea
Epine
Cyparissia
Lepreum
Thuria
Ithome
Phera
Strophades
Ithaca
Dulichium
Patræ
Egium
Egyra
Achaia Bura Propria
Corinthus
Sicyon
Cleonæ
Nemea
Mycenæ
Medea
Epidaurus
Cynthia
Troezene
Argolis
Ornæa
Lerna
Erymanthus M.
Cyllene M.
Stymphalus
Argos
Arcadia
Pholoe M.
Pheneus M.
Styx
Nonacris M.
Megalopolis
Mantinea
Tegea
Prasiae
Sinus Argolicus
Lepreon
Phygalea
Sparta seu Lacedaemon
Taygetus Mons
Epine
Cyparissia
Thuria
Lepreum
Ithome
Phera
Amyclae
Eurotas Flu.
Zarex
Epidaurus Limera
Messene
Cardamyle
Helos
Sinus Messenius
Erythrum
Aeria
Boea
Methone
Corona
Gythium
Malea
Trinasus
Leuctrum
Sinus Laconicus
Aeritas prom.
MARE
Cythera
Taenarum
Laconia
Phocis
Locri Ozolae
Boeotia
Thebae
Ismenus Fl.
Rhamnus
Marathon
Orchomenus
Thespiae
Lebadia
Coronaea
Platææ
Azylea
Calydon
Naupactus
Amphissa
Creusa
Oenoe
Megara
Attica
Molychria
Antirrhion
Cirrha
Eleusis
Acharnae
Athenae
Piraeus
Phalerus
Echinades
Rhium prom.
Sinus Crisæus
Sinus Saronicus
Aegina
Salamis
Cenchreae
Strophades
Ithaca
Dulichium
Acarnania
Aetolia
Achelous Flu.
Evenus Flu.
Asopus Fl.
Nisaea
Pamisus Fl.
Ilissus Fl.
Cephisus Fl.
M. Cnemis
Chaeronea
Parnassus M.
Delphi
Eleatea
Cirrha
Antic yra
Rhium prom.
Sinus Crisæus
Helice
Lechaeum

49 50 51 52 THRACIÆ PA

Heraclea Sintica
Philippi
Edones
Sintica
Strymon Fl.
Berga
Eion
Oesyma
Neapolis
Nestus Fl.
Thasus
Amphipolis
Strymonicus Sinus
Assorius
Mellisurgis
Euporia
Physca
Thermae, post Thessalonica
Argilus
Arethusa
Stagira
Acrathos Prom.
Lete
Aenia
Pella
Sindus
Campsa
Acanthus
Thyssus
Sane
Nymphæum Prom.
Caleastra
Augæa
Sinthus
Moryllus
Stratonice
Ptol.
Pidorus
Chalcis
Singus
Singiticus Sinus
Antigonia
Olynthus
Torone
Alorus
Methone
Potidæa
Ampelus Prom.
Derris Prom.
Pydna
Pallene
Sinus Toronæus
Scione
Canastræum Prom.
Phlegra
Mende
Pyrrha
Pierium
Phylace
Aloneſus
Hieracium
Olympus M.
Tempe
Atrax
Larissa
Meliboea
Ossa
Magnesia
Pheræ
Sciathus
Magnesia
Amphitae
Pelion
Pharsalus
Toleus
Pagasae
Icynthus
Coronta
Pagaseus Sinus
Tolcos
Othrys M.
Scandila
Artemisium Prom.
Scyros
Antron
Coronea
Ptelon
Echinus
Phalachtia
Sinus Maliacus
Histiæa
Perthmus
Chalcis
Trachin
Eretria
Opus
Anthedon
Aulis
Locri
Daphnus
M. Cnemis
Chaeronea
Geraſtus
Catane
Delphinium
Orchomenus
Thebæ
Ismenus Fl.
Rhamnus
Marathon
Lebadia
Coronaea
Thespiae
Platææ
Creusa
Oenoe
Megara
Attica
Phyle
Acharnae
Eleusis
Athenae
Hymettus M.
Decelea
Helena
Delos
Rhene
Cythnus
Pirœus
Phaleron
Laurium
Hyphormus
Sunium
Ceos
Salamis
Aegina
Cenchreæ
Lechæum
Corinthus
Sicyon
Cleonæ
Nemea
Mycenæ
Medea
Cyllene M.
Seriphus
Stymphalus
Argos
Epidaurus
Cynethia
Troezene
Ornæa
Lerna
Phyrconis
Prepesinthus
Pheneus M.
Styx
Praſiae
Tegea
Sinus Argolicus
Melos
Sparta seu Lacedaemon
Taygetus Mons
Amyclae
Laco-
nia
Cardamyle
Zarex
Epidaurus Limera
Helos
Erytheum
Aeria
Boea
Gythium
Trinasus
Leuctrum
Sinus Laconicus
Malea prom.
Cythera
MARE CRETICUM

E PARS 54 Circulus 55 56 57 58

Lampsacus
Mysia Minor
Abydus
Dardanum
Rhœteum
Sigeum
TROAS
Ida M.
Troia Illium
Simois Fl.
Phrygia Minor
Scamander Fl.
MYSIA
Colonæ
Alexandria Troas
MAJOR
Antandrus
Lectum
Sceptis
Assum
Antissa
Adramitium
Methymna
Eresus
Canæ Prom.
Caicus Flu.
Pitana
Elæa
ÆOLIA
Grynium
Myrina
Cumæ sive Cyme
Phocæa
Hermus Flu.
Clazomenæ
Smyrna
Lebedos
Erythra
Teos
Colophon
Notium
Ephesus
Phygele
Prygne
Icaria
Andros
Tenus
Myconus
Delos
Rhene
Donusa
Pathmus
Minyia
Gyaris
Syros
Leros
Naxus
Paros
Antiparos
Cimolus
Olearus
Cos
SPORADES
Samothrace
Imbrus
Lemnus
Tenedos
Chios
Lesbos
Sigrium prom.
Panormus
Sestus
Elæus
CHERSONESUS
Hellespontus
Troas
Mysia
Phrygia
Ionia
Æolia
Archipelagus
Cretum
53
55

HISTORY OF GREECE

TO THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK I.

SECTION I.

THE early times of the Greeks, like those of most other nations, are involved in deep obscurity; and the few notices which antient writers afford us amount only to this, that the first Grecian inhabitants were a barbarous, uninstructed people.

THIS rude state continued to be the state of Greece long after the eastern tribes had attained an high degree of improvement; and already had the kingdoms of Egypt, of Assyria, of Palestine, rendered their names memorable, when the Grecian

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

cian land, the deſtined parent of ſcience to the European world, was only the haunt of vagrant ſavages, ranging the wild in queſt of food, and taking up their caſual abode under the covert of the foreſt.

JAVAN, the fourth ſon of Japheth, appears from authentic teſtimony to have been the founder of the Grecian people. He is ſuppoſed to have made his way into this country from the far ſide of the Euxine ſea, at what time mankind began to diſperſe from the plain of Shinar or Sennaar, in the neighbourhood of which they had during the firſt ages after the deluge been gathered together, and to have ſeated himſelf ſomewhere about thoſe parts ſince called Attica and Aegialean Achaia, as the appellation of *Ions*, or rather, as it was originally, *Iaones*, *Javans deſcendants*, by which the inhabitants of Greece were for many ages peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, ſeems to indicate. Other coloniſts ſhortly after followed; the want of room, as mankind encreaſed, the ſpirit of adventure, and perhaps alſo the turbulent ambition of ſome of the Nimrods of thoſe days, inducing numbers to forſake their native homes, and to attempt diſtant ſettlements; ſome of whom found entrance into Greece, and ſat down in different parts of it. Theſe early populations were however exceedingly imperfect, and produced little alteration. Thinly ſcattered over the face of the country, and unconnected with each other, the ſeveral families had their whole attention employed in ſeeking for ſuſtenance, or in providing for their defence againſt the beaſts of prey with which they were ſurrounded. Strangers to the aids to be obtained from ſocial life, without letters, without commerce, without induſtry, they had ſoon loſt remembrance of the few arts they might have poſſeſſed before their emigration; and if any memorial of the antient traditions

traditions concerning Noah and the antediluvian world remained among them, the faint trace gradually died away, or was disfigured with ſome abſurd, fabulous colouring.

ACCORDINGLY, the accounts given by the Grecian writers themſelves ſpeak theſe firſt inhabitants of Greece as wild a race of ſavages, as any that the page of hiſtory makes mention of. They had neither land tilled, nor hut to dwell in, nor garment to cover them. The graſs of the field, leaves of trees, and ſometimes unwholſome herbs, were the food they fed on, and the cavern of the earth the beſt ſhelter they had againſt the inclemencies of the ſeaſons. And one of their firſt improvers left a name among them of the higheſt veneration, for having taught them to clothe themſelves with ſkins, and to eat the acorn of the beech.

IN this manner had upwards of eight hundred years elapſed ſince the firſt peopling of the Grecian land, and ſtill was Greece the ſeat of barbarous ignorance, when at length a ray of ſcience found a paſſage through the gloom, and though advancing at the firſt ſlowly and with a pale and doubtful glimmering, by degrees lighted up that day of glory which has ſhed ſo much ſplendor on the Grecian fortunes. From what events was brought on this extraordinary revolution in the character of the Grecian people, is a matter well worthy of hiſtorical enquiry: it forms a memorable epoch in our European annals.

TOWARDS the latter end of the days of Eli, an important change took place in Egypt. For ſome generations had the lower Egypt been under the yoke of the ſhepherd-kings, ſuppoſed to be of the race of the Canaanites who had fled before the face of Joſhua. Miſphragmuthoſis, king of the Thebais in upper Egypt, made war on them, and confined them within narrower limits. His ſon and ſucceſſor

Bef. Chr. 1127.

BOOK I. Sect. 1. ſucceſſor Amoſis completed their expulſion; and having at the ſame time diſpoſſeſſed the ſeveral petty princes who reigned throughout the other parts of Egypt, he embodied all their principalities into one kingdom. The conſequence was, that multitudes retired out of Egypt into Paleſtine and the countries adjacent; others again puſhing on to ſettlements more remote, embarked in ſuch veſſels as were then in uſe among the Egyptians, and coaſting along the Mediterranean, landed in Greece and its neighbouring iſlands; of which laſt number Cecrops, Deucalion, Lelex, Inachus, Pelaſgus, Teutamus, Abas, were the leaders. Theſe Egyptian ſtrangers were received by the rude inhabitants with that unſuſpecting cordiality for which the ignorant ſavage has generally been remarkable, and (which has ſeldom been the caſe) they did not abuſe it. They taught them an happier mode of life: they inſtructed them to clear away their foreſts, to build cottages, to form hamlets (for ſuch may we properly call the cities of thoſe early days) to cultivate their grounds, and to raiſe a food more nutritious and healthful than they had hitherto known.

PELASGUS advanced into the heart of Peloponneſus, to that part ſince named Arcadia, the ſhallow and unkindly ſoil of which rugged country ſo little encouraged cultivation, that he contented himſelf with teaching the ſavage tenants of it, inſtead of graſs, to gather the wholſome acorn. Lelex did more. His ſeat was on the fruitful banks of the Eurotas, where he attempted with ſucceſs the cultivating of corn after the Egyptian manner, which his ſon Myles taught his people to convert into bread by the uſeful invention of querns. To Inachus fell the diſtrict afterwards called Argolis: its principal river bears the name of that chief, whom poets, by a natural fiction, becauſe he

he came by ſea, have ſtyled the ſon of the ocean. Deucalion ſeated himſelf in Theſſaly. Abas paſſed into the iſland of Eubœa; Teutamus into that of Crete: both countries, until this time, had probably been overgrown woodlands, without inhabitants.

WITH the arts however that conduce to the ſupport and comfort of human life, theſe coloniſts did not fail to bring into their new ſettlements whatever manners and ſuperſtitions they had been accuſtomed to at home. Thus Pelaſgus had come from the lower Egypt, and was originally of the Canaanitiſh race, among whom was practiſed the abomination of human ſacrifices. And therefore did his ſon Lycaon, who reigned after him in Arcadia, attempt the introduction of that bloody rite into his kingdom, by which he loſt the affections of his ſubjects. Some pretend, thathe was torn in pieces by them; others, that he was changed into a beaſt of prey, and ſent to howl through the wilds of Arcadia. The gods, ſay the fathers of the Grecian fable, provoked at this impiety, drove him from the abode of men, and transformed him into a wolf, a fit emblem of his ſavage mind. The ingenious fiction does honour to the feelings of this infant people.

FAR different was the ſpirit which directed the inſtitutions of Cecrops, who has the honour to be the founder of the illuſtrious Athens. This kingdom, together with thoſe of Thebes and Crete, being of all the Grecian principalities the higheſt in early fame, we ſhall enter into a more particular account of them than of any other.

CECROPS is ſaid to have been originally of Sais in the lower Egypt. Forced from thence by the ſame revolution that ſent the other Egyptians in queſt of new habitations, he made choice with much wiſdom of a ſeat leſs inviting than what had been

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

been occupied by his companions, but greatly preferable in reſpect of ſecurity. He fixed himſelf in that part of Ionia, which to the ſouth is waſhed by the Saronic gulph, to the eaſt by the Aegæan ſea, and to the north by the frith of Eubœa; a diſtrict well known to hiſtory by its ſubſequent name of Attica.

THE firſt care of Cecrops was to call in the diſperſed natives from the woods and hollows of mountains, in which they had hitherto taken up their dwelling. He ſhewed them how to raiſe the clay-built cottage; he taught them to reliſh the decencies and comforts of life; and by the report of antient writers, he introduced alſo among them the uſe of bread-corn, of which he had brought a quantity from Egypt. Theſe ſalutary inſtitutions were attended with the ſucceſs they well deſerved. Attracted by their evident utility, the wild foreſters crowded in to Cecrops from all the neighbouring parts in ſuch numbers, that he ſoon counted twenty thouſand inhabitants in his little kingdom. He diſtributed his people into twelve hamlets (probably the origin of the Athenian δῆμοι) aſſigning to each its own municipal magiſtracy; and that they might have a place of ſecure retreat in caſe of hoſtile incurſion, one of theſe hamlets he fortified with particular care, having choſen for its ſituation a rocky eminence of great natural ſtrength, which from his own name he called Cecropia; the ſame that in after times was improved into the Acropolis, or citadel of Athens.

AFTER providing in this manner for the order and defence of his new ſubjects, Cecrops directed his attention in the next place to fix their internal peace by the wiſdom of his religious and civil inſtitutions. He erected an altar to ΖΕΥΣ (or rather ΖΑΝ) ΥΠΑΤΟΣ, the Moſt High God, a title which plainly indicates

indicates what exalted notions he entertained of the omnipotent Sovereign of the univerſe. Some of the Greek hiſtorians charge him with having given to the Grecian people the example of idol-worſhip. But idol-worſhip was in Greece the ſin of a ſubſequent age. The antient temples of Egypt admitted not any repreſentation of the Divinity. And Cecrops was an Egyptian. Very probably, the Greek writers of later days have endeavoured to find in the ſuppoſed practice of this father of the Athenian people ſome plea for thoſe idolatrous exceſſes which in their own times had overſpread the Grecian world.

THE offerings, with which he appointed they ſhould honour the divine nature, were remarkably frugal, adapted, it is likely, to the humble means of which the inhabitants of this infant ſtate were in poſſeſſion. He forbad the ſlaying of any animal: their religious oblations were to conſiſt of cakes only. Some have thought, that this appointment was borrowed from the Egyptian ritual, which prohibited the ſacrificing of any thing that had life. Perhaps his deteſtation of thoſe human ſacrifices, which among many of the nations of the earth had already defiled the altars of religion, may have had its ſhare likewiſe in dictating ſuch an ordinance.

To enforce decent manners, and ſtrengthen the ſocial link, he alſo ordained the marriage of one man with one woman, inſtead of thoſe promiſcuous intercourſes to which the habits of ferine life had familiarized the Grecian tribes. Antient fable has recorded this part of the Cecropian inſtitutions by an ingenious emblem. Cecrops, it was feigned, was compoſed of two bodies animated by one ſoul; and under ſuch a figure the founder of Athens has been pourtrayed: an apt ſymbol of that matrimonial unity, from which the human heart

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

heart would derive the choiceſt bleſſings it is capable of knowing, did not its own corruptions too often interpoſe to rob it of the happineſs intended for it by its beneficent Maker.

EVEN the funeral rites, which the wiſe Cecrops conſigned to his people, and which, Cicero tells us, the Athenians obſerved religiouſly down to his own time, were not leſs pregnant with uſeful inſtruction. They are mentioned with admiration by the illuſtrious Roman in his ſecond Book of Laws. 'The neareſt friends of the deceaſed committed the body to the ground, and caſt earth upon it, that the dead might repoſe in the boſom of the common parent of mankind. As ſoon as the ſpot was covered, the fruits of the earth were heaped over it, by way of expiation, that ſo this portion of ſoil might be rendered back to the uſes of the living. Then followed a banquet, at which were preſent the relations of the deceaſed crowned with chaplets, and in their hearing an oration was pronounced in praiſe of their departed friend, *if he had deſerved praiſe*; for it was accounted unlawful to utter a falſhood. And thus ended the ſolemnity.' The learned reader will obſerve a ſtrong reſemblance between the ſeveral parts of this ſimple and affecting formulary and the funeral obſervances of Egypt.

To a ſyſtem of polity and manners the reſult of ſo much wiſdom, connected with a fortunate ſituation, antient writers aſcribe the ſecurity which the Athenians appear to have enjoyed from the earlieſt ages; ſo that, although at times they ſuffered from the tumultuary depredations of Carian pirates, and other rovers, by whom the Grecian ſeas were early infeſted, they never were driven from their firſt ſettlements, but continued in one tract of improvement from the days of Cecrops, perfecting the rudiments of knowledge which that venerable

ſage

ſage had bequeathed to them. And therefore did the arts of peace make quicker advances here, than in any other part of Greece. Accordingly, it is the remark of Thucydides, that they were the firſt of the Greeks who laid aſide the uſe of arms, that is, who were reclaimed from rapine and violence to a ſenſe of the advantages of ſocial life; whilſt the ſeveral other Grecian communities were convulſed by repeated revolutions, new adventurers ſtill diſpoſſeſſing thoſe who had begun to improve, and forcing them to ſeek other ſeats. Hence too the famous boaſt of the Athenians, that they were αὐτόχθονες, *ſprung out of their own ſoil.* The ſettlements of thoſe around them had frequently ſuffered overthrow, and there was undoubted tradition how long the reſt of the Grecians had been in poſſeſſion of the parts which they inhabited: whereas from the firſt of their being formed into a people, the Athenians had remained on the ſame ſpot; there was no remembrance of their having been tranſplanted to it from any other.

Upon the death of Cecrops, Cranaus, one of his companions from Egypt, aſcended the throne of Athens, or rather of Cecropia; the name of Athens was not yet known. During his reign, the plains of Theſſaly were laid waſte by an inundation (the effect, probably, of an earthquake) by which Deucalion, who had ſeated himſelf in thoſe parts, was compelled to abandon his new ſettlement, and to take refuge at the court of Cranaus. Were the tales of fable to be admitted as evidence, this deluge involved in one general deſtruction the whole human race, Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha excepted. An obſcure tradition of Noah's deluge offered too fair an opportunity of embelliſhment to the fabuliſts, to be neglected in their own hiſtories.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

To Cranaus ſucceeded Erectheus. The reign of this prince was a period of great proſperity. The improvements of agriculture, to which the leſſons of Cecrops had prepared the way, had now been carried to a conſiderable length: around every hamlet the golden harveſt began to wave, and the important crop to reward the labours of the huſbandman. How highly valuable this change muſt have appeared to a people juſt emerged from ſavage life, in the place of barbarous manners, ſterility and indigence, introducing cultivation, fruitfulneſs and plenty, we, who from our infancy have been accuſtomed to that precious gift of heaven, *ſuſtaining breed*, can ſcarcely form a right eſtimate. What thoughts thoſe elder Greeks entertained of the benefit, the curious antiquarian will trace with pleaſure, as well in the many ingenious fictions with which they have adorned this portion of their annals, as in the various ſolemnities inſtituted to commemorate the bleſſing. 'Huſbandry,' ſay they, 'was a divine perſonage, 'ſent forth by the gods to viſit the earth for the 'relief of man.' Fertility is the daughter of huſbandry: therefore was the goddeſs ſaid to be accompanied by her daughter; κόρη, *the maiden*, fiction calls her. 'But ſcarcely had ſhe entered on her 'progreſs, when this virgin daughter diſappeared, 'carried off, it was afterwards found, to the re'gions below by the god of the inviſible world. 'Diſtracted at the loſs, the goddeſs Ceres ranged 'in ſearch of her daughter from country to coun'try, till informed at length to what place ſhe had 'been borne away, ſhe applied herſelf for aid to 'the Lord of Heaven, whoſe compromiſe with 'his brother Pluto was, that the damſel ſhould 'continue ſix months of every year in the region 'of darkneſs, provided that during the other ſix 'ſhe ſhould have leave to reviſit this upper world.'

The

The dreary appearance of the earth in the winter, and the ſucceeding vegetation of the gentler ſeaſons, form an eaſy explanation of this allegory. 'After various adventures, and painful journies 'through many ſavage countries, the goddeſs ar- 'rived at length on the borders of Attica, or Io- 'nia, as it was then named. And here indeed 'ſhe met with entertainment very different from 'what ſhe had hitherto found. The prince of 'Eleuſis, a ſmall diſtrict in the neighbourhood of 'Cecropia, received her under his own roof with 'an hoſpitality, which ſhe requited by taking his 'ſon Triptolemus under her care, and inſtructing 'him in the myſteries of agriculture. As ſoon as 'the young prince had made a ſufficient progreſs 'in this valuable ſcience, placing him in a chariot 'drawn by flying dragons, ſhe commiſſioned him 'to go round the world, in order to communicate 'the bleſſing to the ſeveral nations of the earth.'

THE ſmall portion of this account, which hiſtory has a right to claim, will fairly amount to this: 'that Attica and the parts adjacent were the firſt 'tracts of Greece, in which huſbandry, though 'poſſibly attempted in other cantons, was brought 'to ſome degree of perfection, and in which *the 'ſhoutings of harveſt* were firſt heard.'

IN the ſame ſpirit of allegory, whatever inventions had contributed to the advancement of agriculture, or held affinity with it, were remembered by theſe Ionian Greeks under ſome emblematical repreſentation, or gave riſe to ſome typical feſtive proceſſion. They had their feaſts of *ſeed-time*, of *reaping*, of *harveſt-home*, of *the threſhing-floor*, of *boundaries and encloſures*, or as they termed it, the feaſt of *legiſlation*; in all which the allegorical perſonage of the goddeſs of harveſt was the principal pageant. The laſt mentioned, the feaſt of *legiſlation*, deſerves particular notice. Before the improvements

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

improvements of husbandry were known, lands were without value, and unoccupied. Tillage introduced other maxims. Called forth by cultivation, the glebe shewed its fertility; the cultivator claimed a property in what he had recovered from the barren common; divisions were made, and boundaries established. Hence, by a natural and expressive title was the goddess of harvest distinguished in early time as the *institutress of laws* (θεσμοφόρος) and her feast was termed the feast of *legislation*, or of the *establishment of society*. And for a like reason, Triptolemus is recorded by some antient writers to have been the first lawgiver among the Greeks. To the father of husbandry it was natural to give the honour of being the first that had effectually reclaimed human kind from their primitive wildness, and laid the corner stone of the social fabric.

THE veneration paid by the infancy of Greece to agriculture extended to the very beast that had laboured, and the very ground which had been employed, in the first works of husbandry. The ox, that drew the plough, was pronounced holy: it had been an impiety to have killed him. The field of Rharium near Eleusis, from which the first barley had been gathered, was held in such estimation, that the grain which grew on it was accounted sacred, and was to be used only in religious offerings. Even the threshing-floor shared in these honours: the *holy threshing-floor* Homer himself calls it.

BUT of all the solemnities to which the introduction of tillage gave rise in Greece, the most celebrated by far were the Eleusinian mysteries, so named from the district where this art was said to have had its beginning, and which, in memory of that, became the scene of the great festival of husbandry. There, by the testimony of antiquity, the

the whole proceſs of agriculture, the hiſtory of its eſtabliſhment, the wretched ſtate of mankind before they obtained the knowledge of it, were exhibited in the moſt pompous manner under ſenſible forms and ſymbols. The evil was, the allegorical perſonages, which were introduced on theſe occaons, were in a ſhort time miſtaken by the people for real divinities, and became the objects of national worſhip. In Egypt, where theſe phantoms had firſt been exhibited in their religious ceremonies, the improper application of them is matter of notoriety in the hiſtory of that antient nation. With the Greeks, a people of a more active and vigorous imagination, the miſchief reached farther. Not only the emblematic figures of the Eleuſinian myſteries became to them real gods, but carried away by the contagion of theſe fancy-moving ſhews, they had ſoon learned to tranſlate the whole creation into allegory, inſomuch that neither hill nor dale, neither ſtream nor ſpring offered itſelf to view, from which ſome divinity was not imagined to ariſe. This accounts for what old Heſiod teaches, that in his days the gods of Greece already amounted to thirty thouſand.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

IT is indeed very poſſible, that the original deſign, as well of the Eleuſinian as of the Egyptian myſteries, might have been innocent; to divert the tired peaſantry at the cloſe of the harveſt-ſeaſon, and perhaps to engage the affection of the half-civilized tribes to theſe novel works of the field by annual feſtive meetings and pageant exhibitions; at the ſame time to impreſs them with religious reverence for labours, which they were taught to look upon as honoured with the expreſs ſanction of heaven. It may be too, that, in the more artleſs ages, what the ſeveral perſonages repreſented was at the concluſion of the ſhew faithfully explained to the ſpectators. But by degrees the

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

prieſt grew more ſubtil, and a myſtical veil covered all. In the greater Eleuſinian myſteries, it has indeed been pretended, that the initiated enjoyed the privilege of having the grand ſecret diſcloſed to them, and of ſeeing thoſe divinities brought down, from the pageant character they bore in public, to their true ſtation of *natural things* or *human arts*. This nevertheleſs could not do much. The pagan writers themſelves confeſs, that few only, and thoſe not till after the moſt jealous precautions, could obtain admiſſion to the greater myſteries. And even with reſpect to that ſmall number, we may fairly ſuppoſe, that the Hierophantes, or maſter of the ſacred pomp, to whom the unveiling belonged, had cunning enough to remove the covering in ſuch a manner, that too large a portion of information ſhould not be had.

WHETHER the glory of having introduced agriculture into Greece belongs of right to Triptolemus or to Erectheus, is not a queſtion of moment. Some of the antient writers have aſcribed it to the one, ſome to the other. It is eaſy to reconcile theſe two accounts. The Eleuſinian diſtrict bordered on the Cecropian or Athenian territories. Whilſt therefore the Eleuſinian improver was promoting the knowledge of huſbandry among the people of Eleuſis, Erectheus was encouraging the ſame rural works throughout his dominions: and probably the credit of the invention was claimed by them both. There is reaſon to ſuſpect, that Erectheus was jealous of Eleuſis, and reſented that the firſt temple to the goddeſs of harveſts was erected there; for it appears from Pauſanias, that he made war on the Eleuſinians. But whatever his jealouſy might prompt him to wiſh, his wiſhes were in vain. To the laſt days of paganiſm, the temple of Eleuſis enjoyed the privilege of being ſacred

ſacred to the myſteries of agriculture beyond any other place of the whole heathen world.

TOGETHER with the benefits of tillage, moſt of the arts of prime neceſſity, and even ſeveral of thoſe of convenience, ſeem to have made their way about this time into Attica and the ſettlements adjacent. The culture of the fig-tree, which the fabuliſts expreſsly mention as the gift of the goddeſs of harveſts to mankind, the culture of the olive, and the uſe of the oil-preſs, began to be known. Vines were planted, and wines made. The fleece was wrought into cloathing for the ſervice of man; and the works of the diſtaff and loom, which ſoon after we find were the employment, and (ſuch was the happy ſimplicity of thoſe antient days!) the pride of every Grecian dame, grew into practice. For ſo the feaſt of vintage, the exhibiting of figs in the ſacred proceſſions, and the ſeveral rites of Minerva under the various characters of the *giver of the olive*, the *induſtrious*, the goddeſs of *the diſtaff, ſplindle, and loom*, which appear to have had their beginning at this time and in this part of Greece, plainly ſay. And thence did Minerva, the goddeſs of induſtrious arts, become the tutelary deity of the Athenian people, giving her own (Grecian) name *Athena* to the city which before had from Cecrops been denominated Cecropia. Their claiming ſo eſpecially the protection of that goddeſs is argument undeniable of their acquaintance with the ſeveral improvements, of which fable made her the patroneſs.

THE many valuable acquiſitions obtained to Athens during the reign of Erectheus cauſed his memory to be held in laſting honour among the tribes of Attica, ſo that he has been conſidered as one of the founders of the Athenian people; and accordingly the land of Erectheus, the people of

Erectheus,

BOOK I. Sect. I.

Erectheus, are appellations which Attica and her people frequently bear in antient ſtory. The contraſt, that followed upon the death of this excellent king, was calculated to render the memory of his reign ſtill dearer to the Athenians. His ſons diſputed the kingdom the one with the other, and involved Athens in deadly feuds, which did not end before the acceſſion of Theſeus.

To the northweſt of Athens ſtood Thebes. The uncouth fables which darken the origin and early fortunes of this antient kingdom ſufficiently tell, what the barbarous ſtate of the native tribes of this part of Greece muſt have been, when civilization firſt made its way among them. From ſacred hiſtory we may borrow ſome light, to guide us through theſe regions of fiction.

ABOUT eighty years after the arrival of the Egyptians in Greece, whilſt Erectheus ruled at Athens, certain bands of Phœnicians or Edomites landed on the Grecian coaſt. A revolution at home had occaſioned their emigration. Of theſe adventurers a conſiderable party, advancing into the heart of the country in ſearch of a ſeettlement, were at length tempted by the fairneſs of its paſturages to ſeat themſelves in a diſtrict, to which it is probable they themſelves gave the proper name of Bœotia, that is to ſay, the land of heifers. They appear to have been a people highly improved, and in many reſpects far ſuperior to the coloniſts from Egypt. By their ſituation on the Arabic gulph (otherwiſe the Red Sea, or Sea of Edom) they had of old been put in poſſeſſion of an extenſive commerce, and were familiar with the ſeveral arts of uſe to a mercantile nation, manual trades, aſtronomy, navigation, as far as they were advanced in thoſe early days. Their guilt was, that they had departed from the religion of Abraham their great anceſtor, not only worſhipping the heavenly

heavenly bodies (which ſeems to have been the prime idolatry of the world) but alſo paying divine honours to dead men, after the example of the nations around them. Provoked by their idolatrous manners, or jealous of their naval ſtrength, and of the important aid which his enemies derived from them, David king of Iſrael, in the fifteenth year of his reign, carried his arms into Idumæa, and conquered it; which cauſed a number of the Edomites, with ſeveral of the bordering Arabians nearly connected in intereſts with Edom, to diſperſe into different countries. Bef. Chriſt 1040.

THIS diſperſion was ſhortly after followed by a ſecond. A large ſwarm of the fugitives, ſpreading themſelves along the coaſts of Sidon, got poſſeſſion of that city, and diſlodged the major part of the old inhabitants, who eſcaped in their ſhips, ſome to the lower Aſia, ſome to Greece and the Grecian iſlands.

AN encreaſe of population was among the ſmalleſt benefits Greece derived from theſe new colonies. Wherever they ſettled, they diffuſed inſtruction, civility, and induſtry. From a long intercourſe with Egypt, they had learned all the wiſdom of the Egyptians: from their voyages, whether on the Eaſtern ſeas, as was the practice of the Edomites, or on the Mediterranean, as was that of the Sidonians, they had attained to all the advantages which a commercial life generally gives, more enlarged notions of things, a more equal diſtribution of knowledge, a liberality of mind that led them to communicate what they had obſerved. And, which was the moſt important of all, they gave to Greece a written language. Inſtead of the enigmatical alluſions employed by the Egyptians, which (eſpecially to a rude, unformed people) were always obſcure, and often equivocal, they inſtructed the Grecian tribes in the uſe of

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

characters of a determinate ſignification. It appears from reſpectable monuments, that to them is due the antient and primary Greek alphabet; that the letters of which it was compoſed bear a near reſemblance in ſhape and power to the characters in uſe among the Phœnicians, Arabs, and Hebrews, whoſe ſeveral dialects, however they may have differed ſince the days of Ezra, appear to have been originally cognate, and were probably provincial modes of the ſame language; laſtly, that from this Greek alphabet were afterwards borrowed the Etruſcan letters, which the Grecian coloniſts brought with them into Italy, and which gave birth to the more elegant forms adopted by the Latins. So that to this Idumæan diſperſion not only the learned languages of Greece and Italy are eſſentially indebted for their improvement, but almoſt all the literary poſſeſſions of the modern European world owe their firſt beginning.

THE lettered arts which the Idumæans introduced were not confined to Bœotia, but found a ſpeedy and welcome reception throughout the different Grecian ſettlements. The attention of theſe eaſtern adventurers ſeems nevertheleſs to have been employed principally in their Theban eſtabliſhment. They called in the wild natives from their foreſts and caverns; taught them to plough and ſow, to build and plant; inſtructed them in the nature of copper-ore, of which the Bœotian hills furniſhed plenty, and ſhewed them how to fabricate braſs, the metal chiefly in uſe among the antient inhabitants of Greece. And to protect them from the inroads of enemies, they erected a citadel of conſiderable ſtrength. Few of the Grecian ſtates are more ſlenderly provided with authentic monuments of their own early times than the Thebans: it is however worthy.

thy of remark, that the citadel of Thebes retained the name of Cadmea, or the citadel of the eaſtern men, for ages after; and Cadmeia, the metal of the eaſtern men, is the Greek name for copper-ore to this day.

SUCH are the imperfect notices of the riſe of the Theban people, which either the ſacred records of truth ſupply, or which may be collected from the hints occaſionally thrown out by ſome of the moſt judicious Grecian writers. The annals of the Thebans themſelves preſent us with a hiſtory of a very different kind.

ACCORDING to them, the founder of Thebes, Cadmus they call him, was ſon to the king of Phœnicia, and had been ſent abroad by his royal father with orders not to return till he had found his ſiſter Europa, whom, as ſhe was ſporting herſelf with her maidens on the Phœnician ſhore, a bull of remarkable beauty had carried off on his back, ſwimming away with her to ſome unknown land. After much fruitleſs labour, the young prince, afraid to return into his father's preſence, reſolved to try his fortune in Greece, and was by an oracle directed, together with the few attendants he had, into Bœotia. His firſt adventure there was very unfortunate. His companions, who had gone in queſt of freſh water, ſtaying long, he went to look for them, when he had the mortification to find they had been all ſlain by a ſerpent of enormous ſize, that guarded the ſpring where they ſought to ſlake their thirſt. The hero revenged their death by killing the ſerpent; after which he remained lonely and diſconſolate, till he was relieved from his diſtreſs by the appearance of a goddeſs, who commanded him to take the teeth of the ſerpent he had ſlain, and to ſow them in the earth. From this extraordinary ſeed immediately aroſe a crop of armed men, who attacked and ſlew

BOOK I. Sect. 1. each other, until, five only remaining, they agreed to lay down their arms, and became assistant to Cadmus in founding his Theban city. The valour and enterprising spirit of the young prince did not go unrewarded: the gods bestowed on him in marriage the fair Hermione, daughter of the god of war by the goddess of beauty, with whom he reigned many years in great prosperity, blessed with a numerous offspring. But he had not fulfilled his destiny. In the decline of their life, Hermione and he were commanded by an oracle to retire from Bœotia into Illyricum, where some time after they were both changed into serpents.

THE adventures of most of his posterity are set forth in the same romantic dress. One of his daughters, Ino, pursued to the sea-side by her husband, whom her cruelties to his children by a former marriage had exasperated, leaped into the waves, and was made a sea-goddess. Semele, another of them, perished in the embraces of Jupiter, who in compliance with her ambitious request had come to visit her, arrayed in the splendors of his deity, thunder and lightning. She was pregnant at the time of her death: the infant (wonderful to relate!) was taken out alive, and enclosed in Jupiter's thigh, whence he was brought forth in due season, to become the Grecian Bacchus. The cultivation of the vine by some of the Cadmean race, and the consequent introduction of the worship of the god of vintage, seem to have given rise to part of this aukward fiction. Actæon, grandson to Cadmus, accidentally looking on Diana when bathing, was by the goddess changed into a stag, run down, and destroyed by his own hounds. Another of his grandsons, Pentheus, opposed the celebration of the revels of the god of wine; an impiety which the offended god revenged by instigating Agave, the mother of Pentheus, and her sister-

sister-bacchanals, in a fit of frenzy to tear him to pieces. BOOK I.

POLYDORUS succeeded to the Theban throne in the place of his father Cadmus, and left his crown to his son Labdacus. The reigns of these two princes, who died young, afforded little matter to fable, which however appears to have made itself full amends in the fortunes of Laius and his posterity. Left an infant by his father Labdacus, and before he had arrived to manhood, Laius was stripped of his kingdom by Amphion, to whom, though a lawless usurper, the Thebans, it seems, owed more than to any of their princes. Amphion excelled on the lyre, an instrument he had received from the hand of Mercury the god of eloquence; and such was the commanding power of his music, that brute creatures, nay and the very stones, followed as he played. He employed his skill in favour of Thebes, at that time open and defenceless, and caused the stones to form around it into walls and battlements. It is well known, that in antient story the power of music is often used to express the power of eloquence, which (besides the aptness of the allusion) always in early ages borrowed the aids of music and song. Whatever interpretation therefore the fiction may receive, whether we are to understand from it that Amphion by his talent of persuasion prevailed on the Thebans to secure their city against insult, or whether it shall only mean that he improved their manners, and taught them to conform to the arrangements of civil life, in either sense he certainly advanced the prosperity of the Theban people. Sect. 1.

HOWEVER, Amphion and his whole family having been swept away by a pestilence, Laius returned; and with him calamity, the faithful attendant of the house of Cadmus, returned also. Scarcely had he got possession of the throne, when he was warned by the Delphic oracle, that the child

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

child with which his wife Jocaſta was then pregnant was deſtined to kill his father, and to commit inceſt with his mother. Terrified at this denunciation, he gave orders that the child, as ſoon as born, ſhould be put to death. The compaſſion of the perſon to whom the commiſſion was entruſted ſaved the infant, the famed Œdipus: he contented himſelf with expoſing the child on mount Cithæron, where certain ſhepherds, ſervants to the king of Corinth, having found him, brought him to their maſter, by whom, as he was childleſs himſelf, the preſent was received with joy, and educated as a ſon. After various adventures, at length the unhappy prince but too exactly completed the fatal oracle. Meeting, without knowing, his father Laius on the way to Delphi, a fray enſued at a narrow paſs, and he ſlew him. The vacant throne of Thebes, with the queen's hand, was offered to the perſon who ſhould be fortunate enough to relieve the Thebans from a monſter which then infeſted their country. Œdipus accepted of the enterpriſe, baffled and deſtroyed the Sphinx, and was rewarded with the marriage of Jocaſta and the Theban kingdom.

THIS well known ſtory, which the art of the inimitable Sophocles has rendered deeply intereſting, we ſhall have occaſion to mention again. It is ſufficient to obſerve here, that though the poſterity of Cadmus ſubſiſted for ſome generations after Œdipus, yet they all at laſt, if we are to believe the Grecian writers, periſhed miſerably, 'the goddeſs of divine vengeance,' ſays Pauſanias, 'purſuing with indefatigable fury the blood of Œdipus and Laius.'

AMIDST this ſtrange medley of facts and fictions, where at every ſtep we go ſome dark fable comes acroſs us, it is difficult to ſay how the hiſtorian ſhall proceed. Even the ſtory of Laius, the oracular

oracular warning he received, his fruitleſs endeavours to evade a deſtiny which at laſt overtook him in ſo extraordinary a manner, are events recorded indeed by ſome of the moſt reſpectable Grecian authorities, yet not the more likely to obtain credit with the judicious reader. To the Bœotian character, perhaps, are many of theſe wondrous tales to be imputed. It was laid to the charge of the Bœotian people, even in their better days, that they did not exceed in acuteneſs. And it need not be ſaid, how daring the exertions of ſuperſtition have always been, if encouraged by credulity and ignorance.

THE early hiſtory of Crete preſents us with a contraſt ſtill more amazing than the romantic fortunes of Thebes. A ſurvey of the political inſtitutions of the Cretans tends to convey as ſtrong a notion of the wiſdom of that people, as on the other hand a view of their religious tenets betrays an abaſement of mind, ſcarcely to be expected among untutored barbarians.

TEUTAMUS of Egypt is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt introducer of civilization into the Cretan iſland, the haunt, before his days, of a few ſavages, and overgrown with woods. His companions, who are thought to have been of the Egyptian order of prieſthood, took up their dwelling on mount Ida, which ſoon grew into fame by means of the various arts and beneficial improvements of which theſe Egyptian ſages gave the example. To Teutamus ſucceeded his ſon Cronos, who, in contempt of his father's injunctions, as well as of the admonitions of the wiſe men of Ida, is ſaid to have adopted the horrid rite of human ſacrifices, and to have attempted to offer up his own children. His violences, of whatever kind they were, provoked a formidable inſurrection. He was ejected from the throne of Crete, to make room

for

BOOK I. for his ſon Aſterius, who had nearly been the victim of his father's ſuperſtition.

Sect. 1. O Aſterius, from his infancy, the Idæan ſages had fixed their attention: they had educated him within the ſacred encloſure, their own reſidence; they had formed him by their counſels, and furniſhed him with all the wiſdom of which they were in poſſeſſion. A fortunate incident contributed to eſtabliſh the glory of a reign that opened with ſo flattering a promiſe. A party of the Idumæan adventurers landed on the Cretan coaſt. Aſterius, aware of the benefits to be derived from the preſence of theſe enlightened ſtrangers, afforded them every encouragement, patronized the many uſeful inventions they brought with them, made it his ſtudy to unite into one people the different coloniſts with which Crete was now overſpread, and as a pledge of regard to his new ſubjects, ſhared his bed and throne with Europa the daughter of one of their chieftains, whoſe cultivated underſtanding gave a proſpect of the moſt ſolid advantages to his riſing kingdom. His expectations were not fruſtrated. In the compaſs of a few years, the whole Cretan empire began to feel the bleſſings of civilization and good government: flouriſhing cities aroſe in every part of the iſland; her naval ſtrength was formidable; and moſt of the neighbouring iſlands, which before had either none or barbarous inhabitants, ſtood indebted to Crete for protection as well as culture. Her influence extended even to the Grecian continent and the Aſiatic ſhores. The firſt celebration of games on the banks of the Alpheus (the origin of the Olympic games) is attributed to ſome of her ſages, who are ſuppoſed to have paſſed over into Elis. And the founding of the oracle of Delphi, in ſucceeding times the great object of pagan veneration, is

ſaid

ſaid to have been the reſult of certain holy celebrations inſtituted there by a company from Ida.

Sect. 1.

After many days of great proſperity, Aſterius was ſucceeded by his ſon Minos. This prince came to the throne with all the advantages that portend an illuſtrious reign. His people were at peace; population and induſtry flouriſhed throughout his territories; moſt of the neighbouring iſlands acknowledged ſubjection to him; an uſeful intercourſe had been opened with the continents of Europe and Aſia; and the adjoining ſeas were covered with his numerous fleets. The only dangers Crete had to fear were, what the treacherous influence of proſperity is accuſtomed to bring on. Aſterius had endeavoured to guard againſt them by many provident inſtitutions. Minos improved the plan. He compiled a body of laws, which, whether the reſult of his own obſervations, or framed, as there is reaſon to conjecture, from the inſtructions of the wiſe men of Ida, are celebrated in antient ſtory under the name of the Laws of Minos. What theſe ſeveral laws were, cannot now preciſely be ſaid, the viciſſitudes of human things having long ſince deſtroyed all remains of Crete's antient glory. A general idea of them may be had from the fragments, which the Grecian writers have preſerved to us.

The government was regal. But together with the king were appointed ten Coſmi or guardians of the people, elected annually, and a council of twenty-eight old men, who were choſen for life: and to this body of magiſtracy was the adminiſtration of public affairs committed. At ſo early a period does the limiting of the royal authority appear to have been the favourite of Greece. It is not improbable, that the oppreſſions of deſpotiſm, which the Aſiatic and Egyptian coloniſts had experienced at home, might have raiſed in them ſuch

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

such a jealouſy of the kingly power, as made it prudent for the Cretan legiſlator to ſoften it into this milder aſpect. From two remarkable laws it ſeems however, as if Minos had been alſo apprehenſive of the inconveniencies, which too high a ſpirit of liberty might produce. By one of theſe laws, 'profeſſional orators were not to have admiſſion into Crete.' The other enacted, 'that young men ſhould not preſume to move any queſtion concerning the conſtitution of their country; and if an old man obſerved any matter which he might think required alteration, he was to mention it only to a magiſtrate, or ſome of the venerable twenty-eight, taking heed that none of the younger folk were preſent.' Theſe two laws need no comment: they may ſtand as monuments of the ſagacity of thoſe remote ages.

BUT the great object of the laws of Minos was the forming of the national manners. At the age of ſeven he directed that the children ſhould be removed from under the care of their parents, ſhould be ranged into companies, and have their education in common. Their meals were eaten in public, and like their garments, were coarſe and frugal. They were trained to activity and ſwiftneſs, enured to the toils and dangers of the chace, taught to bear cold, heat, thirſt and hunger, to hurl the javelin, to wield the falchion, to bend the bow. Their very recreations were of the ſtern military caſt: in their dances, which they performed in armour, they imitated the movements and evolutions of armies in battle; they were taught, by way of ſport, to make frequent trial of their ſtrength and courage, one againſt the other, with fiſt, club, or weapon of war, whilſt ſome of their companions played a kind of martial muſic to inſpirit the little combatants. Care was taken alſo, that the very language of their ordinary diſcourſe

courſe ſhould be void of ornament, but ſhort and expreſſive. And the only mental accompliſhments permitted to them were, to get by heart the laws of their country, compoſed, according to the manner of thoſe early days, in verſe, and to celebrate with lyre and ſong the praiſes of the gods and the exploits of warlike men. Neither was the attention of the laws confined to their boyiſh years. At the age of ſeventeen they paſſed into the claſs of young men; but the ſame form of diſcipline, with very little variation, was continued and extended through the whole term of manhood: ſo that the Cretan life, in every ſtage of it, was in the intention of its modeller to be a life of auſterity and ſevere obſervance.

A PLAN of legiſlation, which in ſo many inſtances did violence to the human heart, could hardly fail of provoking much contradiction. Minos accordingly, we are told, found it neceſſary to call in religion to his aid. He feigned, that theſe laws had their origin in heaven, whence they had been delivered to him by Jupiter himſelf; to ſtrengthen which deception, every ninth year it was his cuſtom to retire during a number of days to a certain cave in the neighbourhood of Gnoſſus his royal city, there, as he pretended, to hold conferences with the god, and by him to be inſtructed how to perfect and eſtabliſh the ordinances he had given him. For the better promulgation of theſe, Minos commanded them to be engraved on tablets of braſs, and thrice every year ſent out Talus, one of his chief miniſters, on a progreſs through Crete, to expound his laws to the people, and enforce obedience to them. This Talus, perhaps from the circumſtance of the brazen tables committed to his cuſtody, is ſaid to have been a man compoſed of braſs, miraculouſly endowed by Jupiter with the powers of thought and motion,

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

motion, and appointed to guard his favourite iſland. The legend ſerves at leaſt to ſhew, how eaſily in thoſe days of fable the ſtrangeſt fiction obtained admittance for truth.

To what meaſure of praiſe Minos may be entitled, is not now the queſtion. His laws certainly were in high eſtimation among the pagan nations. Both Plato and Ariſtotle, in whoſe time they had been approved by the experience of ages, pronounce them excellent; and Lycurgus, the illuſtrious lawgiver of Sparta, did not diſdain to make them his model. But whatever opinion may be entertained of this Cretan king, whether we ſee in him the patron of virtue, and friend of human happineſs; or whether we are to ſuppoſe (what indeed ſeems to be nearer to truth) that he was a prince of aſpiring views and great reach of thought, who in the hope of ſubjecting to himſelf the ſeveral ſtates around him, and ſtretching his dominion over Greece and the Grecian iſlands, deviſed a well concerted plan of moulding the Cretans into a martial people; whichever of theſe ſuppoſitions we chooſe to adopt, the hiſtory of Minos and his laws ſtill throws an important light on the tranſactions of that very diſtant age, and confirms ſtrongly what antient writers have obſerved, that to colonies from Egypt and Aſia Greece ſtands indebted for her firſt acquaintance with civility and culture. The very ſpirit of theſe admirable laws proves undeniably, that this could not have been the wiſdom of a land barbarous, or juſt emerged out of barbarity, as Crete then was. So much political acuteneſs and deep inſight into human nature muſt have been the growth of countries, where the improvements of ſocial life, together with the forms of legal eſtabliſhments, had long been known.

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THE laws of Minos, thoſe particularly which had the public manners for their object, preſerved their influence in Crete, and ſecured to it proſperity and freedom, during a lapſe of many ages. Indeed ſuch was the martial ability which the Cretans derived from theſe inſtitutions, that at the diſtance of four hundred years from their firſt eſtabliſhment, the Romans themſelves, in the meridian of their power, found it difficult to contend with that ſpirited people, over whom they obtained at laſt an inglorious, if not a reproachful victory.

BUT however in Minos we may admire the legiſlator, we cannot with the ſame complacency conſider his religious ſyſtem. It is paſt controverſy, that the royal houſe of Crete has the guilt of having given to Greece many of her groſſeſt ſuperſtitions. The principal deities of the Grecian ritual had avowedly their birth in Crete; and their very ſovereign, the Grecian Jupiter, is allowed by their fabulous writers to have ſat on the Cretan throne, before he aſcended that of Olympus. The birth, education, and fortunes of this extraordinary perſonage, which accordingly appear to have been for the moſt part of Cretan invention, form a collection of abſurdities, the moſt uncouth to be met with in the records of paganiſm. At his birth, his father Cronos would have devoured him. This Cronos had dethroned his own father; and inſtructed by his conſcious fears, or threatened by ſome oracle, that his ſon ſhould likewiſe dethrone him, he reſolved to deſtroy the new-born infant. The mother, Ops or Rhea, ſaved the child. She ſubſtituted a ſtone wrapped in ſwaddling clothes, which ſhe gave to Cronos to ſwallow, but conveyed away the infant to the ſages of mount Ida, by whom he was concealed in a cave, where a goat ſuckled him, or according to others, bees fed him with their honey.

CICERO,

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

CICERO, who ſeems often to have bluſhed at the religion of his country, endeavours by a philoſophical ſolution to explain away ſomewhat of the abſurdity of this antient fiction. With him, this aukward tale is only an ingenious allegory. Cronos is the emblem of time, or more properly, of that unmeaſured duration which preceded the formation of the heavenly luminaries; and by Jupiter is meant the ſupreme orderer of the univerſe. 'Before creation was,' ſaith the Roman philoſopher, 'ere the circuit of the heavens was eſtabliſhed, duration flowed away unperceived, and was ſwallowed up in the unfathomable gulph of Chaos; but when Jupiter had once ordained the circumvolution of the celeſtial orbs, then no longer did Cronos devour his progeny, the ages were numbered, and time (χρόνος) was intwiſted in the ligatures of the heavenly bodies.' Theſe mythological refinements are the language of later ages: the early Greeks, ignorant and artleſs, were ſtrangers to them. What the fabuliſts relate of the preſervation of Rhea's infant ſon ſeems rather to indicate, as we have already ſaid, that Cronos was guilty of human ſacrifices, and that the ſages of Ida reprobated the impious practice. Compelled by the abhorrence of his ſubjects to abdicate his kingdom in favour of his ſon Aſterius, Cronos is ſaid to have fled into Italy, where on account of the many improvements he brought with him from Crete, he was held in grateful remembrance for ages after, under the name of Saturn. The character of Saturn in the pagan mythology confirms the ſuſpicion, that Cronos had adopted the barbarous rite of human victims.

THE reign of Aſterius was, as we have ſeen, a reign of great proſperity. He extended civilization throughout his whole empire, and according to the Cretan records, obtained a complete victory over

over the Titans, a formidable faction in the interests of Cronos, who held poſſeſſion of a part of the kingdom, and like their leader, were addicted to human ſacrifices. Theſe important benefits not only endeared Aſterius to his people, but advanced him after death to divine honours. Fable aſſigned to him the throne of heaven, with the awful title of Sovereign Lord of gods and men. His brother, who had ſuperintended his naval operations, was made god of the ſea by the name of Poſeidon, the Neptune of Latium. And Pluto, his other brother (probably becauſe he died young) had the kingdom of Hades, or the inviſible world, committed to him, and was ſuppoſed to reign over the regions of death. Minos himſelf had his portion of honour. He had given laws to men on earth: fiction inveſted him with the dignity of ſupreme judge of departed ſpirits. Neither was Europa forgotten in the ſyſtem of adulation. Seated on the heavenly throne along with Aſterius, ſhe had her worſhippers in every part of the gentile world, being called by the Greeks ΗΡΑ or the Lady, by the Latins, Juno.

THESE wild flights of imagination, ſtrange as they may appear, are eaſily accounted for. The deifying of dead men had, ſome ages before, been introduced by the Canaanitiſh emigrants into ſeveral parts of Egypt, from which country the Curetes are ſuppoſed to have come. To theſe men of Ida, beſides, it brought at once a gratification of pride and an important encreaſe of influence, to have thoſe princes, whom they were known to have aſſiſted with their counſels, advanced to the rank of gods. At the ſame time, the groſs ignorance of the Cretan people encouraged the illuſion. Prompted by nature to acknowledge a Supreme Being, and incapable from their uninſtructed ſtate of forming proper notions concerning Him, they greedily

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

greedily took in every monſtrous legend that impoſture offered to them. The policy of the Cretan princes contributed alſo to ratify the fraud. Minos particularly, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Aſterius, appears to have thought it his intereſt to be reputed the offspring of a god, with whom he had an intercourſe, and who directed his plan of government.

How it came to paſs, that the Cretan Aſterius obtained the high rank he holds among the pagan divinities, and was advanced to the ſupremacy of heaven, is a queſtion of no great difficulty. To his having been the firſt of the Grecian princes that was deified, the diſtinction may have been due; or perhaps, to his having been the moſt powerful Grecian prince of his time, ſovereign not only of Crete, but of the iſles adjoining, and even of a large portion of the ſouthern continent of Greece, which in early times appears to have been in ſubjection to the Cretan king: the ſame ſubordination, that ſubſiſted among the gods of paganiſm in their earthly fortunes, having been generally preſerved in their deified ſtate. The like homage therefore, as had been paid to Aſterius whilſt on the Cretan throne, Crete required her ſubject nations to pay to him, when ſhe had placed him in her temples; and the ſupreme lord of the Cretan empire became the ſupreme god of the Grecian world.

IT is however exceedingly remarkable, that as ſoon as fable had ſeated Aſterius on the throne of heaven, we gradually loſe ſight of his mortal character: he is thenceforth conſidered as the repreſentative of the divine nature and ſupreme mind, and all the exalted attributes of power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, which belong to the Moſt High, do we find him inveſted with. A ſtrong proof, that the mind of man is naturally led to aſcribe every excellence

cellence to the Supreme Governor of all, and that even the deceits of paganiſm, though they might obſcure, could never totally obliterate the heaven-taught leſſon. BOOK I. Sect. 1.

We are however to remember, that the domeſtic hiſtory of the Jupiter of Crete does not in any degree apply to the ſeveral Jupiters of whom the pagan legends make mention. Among the Grecian tribes which did not bow to the power of Crete, the practice grew common in proceſs of time, to have, each of them, a Jupiter of their own. And both in the European and Aſiatic Greece, as deſpotiſm gained ground, every prince, who by his martial proweſs or the beneficence of his ſway had contributed to the national glory or happineſs, generally received, whether from adulation or from gratitude, the like idolatrous tribute, and became the Jupiter of his people.

The other Grecian ſtates were yet in their infancy. Various cauſes had contributed to impede their progreſs. Of the ſeveral principalities which had ariſen in different parts of Greece, the greater number, inconſiderable in extent, and thinly provided with inhabitants, were neither capable of forming enlarged ſchemes, nor, if formed, of carrying them into execution. A kingdom in thoſe early days often conſiſted of a ſingle town, with the narrow ſtrip of territory that ſurrounded it: and ſcarcely was there a plantation, of which the chieftain did not lay claim to ſovereignty. Hence the many Grecian kingdoms mentioned by antient writers, which in ſome generations after are no longer to be found. So low down as the ſiege of Troy, Theſſaly found room for nine kingdoms. And in Peloponneſus alone reigned thirty princes at one time. Theſe principalities, however ſmall, were, beſides, all independent principalities, not ſtrengthened by any communication with each other,

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

or any interchange of information or good offices; every chieftain, in the pride of royalty, beholding the ſeveral chieftains around him with contempt or with jealouſy. Had they even been diſpoſed to adopt a more liberal policy, Greece in thoſe days knew not what a road was; the line of intercourſe lay acroſs pathleſs wilds, and formidable were the dangers to be encountered by the adventurous traveller: the exploits recorded of Theſeus and the heroes of his time prove it abundantly. Other cares alſo of the moſt urgent nature left theſe petty ſtates no leiſure for improvement. They had not ſuſtenance only, but ſelf-defence, to provide for. Reſcued from the foreſt, their little territories were encompaſſed with woodland, which ſtill occupied a large portion of the country, the haunt of wild beaſts and unreclaimed ſavages, to whom every plantation was an object of prey, and againſt whom every fence that the hand of induſtry could raiſe was a precarious protection.

In addition to thoſe ills, theſe petty kingdoms were often overſet by hoſtile irruption. Several of the princes of the houſe of Deucalion, who had ſat down in the northern provinces of Greece, diſſatisfied with their ſituation, moved on ſouthward. Athamas, great grandſon to Deucalion, entered Bœotia, where he poſſeſſed himſelf of part of the kingdom of Orchomenos. Endymion, another of his deſcendants, paſſed over into Ægialea, known afterwards by the name of Peloponneſus, and having dethroned Clymenus, one of the diſciples of the ſages of mount Ida, reigned in Elis. Endymion's amorous intercourſes with the Moon have given to this prince a diſtinguiſhed place in the poetic annals. Reduced to plain hiſtory, the fable only ſays, that theſe early coloniſts were not unacquainted with aſtronomical obſervations, and that

that to this valuable branch of ſcience Endymion often dedicated his nightly hours. Salmoneus likewiſe, a prince of the ſame family, quitting Hellas, founded a city on the weſt coaſt of Ægialea near the Elean borders. The mad attempt of this impious prince to imitate the thunder of Jupiter, and the puniſhment of his preſumption by the real bolt of the incenſed deity, is a ſtory well known to the claſſic reader. Whatever was the particular fate of Salmoneus, the example of theſe adventuring leaders was followed by other princes of the race of Deucalion; and to two of theſe the kingdoms of Corinth and of Pylus (Neſtor's royal ſeat) owe their beginning; the laſt founded by Neleus, brother to Pelias and father to Neſtor, the other by Siſyphus, ſon to Æolus, grandſon of Deucalion. Meanwhile, other adventurers from abroad poured in alſo, ſome from the countries to the north of Theſſaly, ſome from Aſia, ſome from Egypt; whilſt the numerous rovers, who had now begun to inſult the Grecian coaſts, made inroads into the country, ſpreading devaſtation wherever they came. In this manner were moſt of the early kingdoms, particularly thoſe in the ſouth of Greece, overthrown, or transferred to new poſſeſſors. And thus Orithya, an Athenian princeſs, was carried off by plunderers from Thrace; and Io, daughter to the king of Argos, by corſairs from Egypt.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

ACCORDINGLY the records of theſe antient ſtates, of which Greece made her boaſt, when they are brought down to the ſcale of hiſtory, exhibit little more than a confuſed account of the tumultuary ſkirmiſhes, predatory incurſions, and bold foreſt-atchievements, which occupied the activity of the ſeveral Grecian tribes during that dark period. Even with relation to the nobler exploits of thoſe early worthies, whom the poets of

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

this country have ſo delighted to celebrate, the annals of their glory will be found to conſiſt principally in clearing the woods of ſome wild beaſt, or expelling from his ſtrong hold ſome ravager, the terror of the hamlets around.

To the pride of Greece however it had been too mortifying, had her hiſtory been diſgraced with a bare recital of events, which ſo fully atteſt the humility of her early fortunes. Hence the aids of fiction have been called in to give dignity to the ſeveral occurrences of thoſe heroic times, and the moſt trivial adventure ſtands honoured with the intervention of ſome deity. If Orithya was carried off, it was the god of the northwind, enamoured of her beauty, that bore her away. If Io ſuffered violence, Jupiter himſelf was the raviſher. Even the ſports of the chace were rendered important by the intereſt which the gods took in them; and the death of the Calydonian boar, a mere rural exploit, if diveſted of the ornaments of fable, has been made to hold a diſtinguiſhed place in the Grecian records.

THIS fragment of Calydonian hiſtory may not improperly find admiſſion here, as it delineates ſtrongly the manners and love of fable of thoſe remote ages, and is beſides rendered valuable, inaſmuch as we have a conſiderable part of it on the authority of Homer himſelf

WESTWARD of the bay of Corinth, bordering on the Ionian ſea, lay Ætolia, a diſtrict of which formed the little kingdom of Calydon. Œneus, who reigned over it, had, it ſeems, provoked the anger of Diana the goddeſs of the foreſts, by forgetting, at the annual feaſt of firſt-fruits, to honour her with the due ſacrifices; and in revenge, the goddeſs had ſent a boar of uncommon ſize and fierceneſs to ſpread terror throughout Calydon. At the earneſt entreaties of the Calydonian king, the

the princes of Ætolia and other countries adjacent assembled to clear the fields of this mighty ravager; when after a difficult and dangerous chace, which proved fatal to ſome of the gallant huntſmen, the monſter was at length brought to the ground. But the vengeance of Diana was not yet appeaſed. The goddeſs excited among the chiefs a contention, to whom the honours of the chace, the head and hide of the boar, ſhould belong. In the heat of this conteſt, Meleager, ſon to Œneus, exerting himſelf in favour of Atalanta, a beautiful young huntreſs of princely birth who had been the firſt to wound the boar, had the misfortune to ſlay his own uncle, brother to his mother Althæa. The enraged Althæa, as ſoon as ſhe heard of the fatal deed, pronounced a curſe upon her ſon.

SHORTLY after, the Calydonians found themſelves engaged in a dangerous war. Certain of the neighbouring tribes (Curetes Homer calls them, probably a Cretan colony) claimed a ſhare of the mighty prize, the honours of the late chace, and their ſuit being rejected, laid ſiege to Calydon, which was ſoon reduced to extremity, becauſe Meleager, on whom the dependence of his countrymen lay, refuſed, through anger at his mother's imprecations, to oppoſe the enemy. In vain had all the honourable men of Calydon, in vain the aged Œneus, in vain had Althæa herſelf employed every ſolicitation to win his aid; when the entreaties of his wife Cleopatra effected what no one elſe could bring to paſs: ſoftened by her diſtreſs, the hero ſuppreſſed his reſentment, ruſhed forth to the field of war, and ſaved Calydon.

THUS far Homer. The ſequel of Meleager's ſtory we are to gather from other fabuliſts. Not all his gallant atchievements, nor even Althæa's repentance, could avert the dire effect of the maternal imprecation: it was recorded in the realms below;

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

below; and the unhappy Meleager, purſued by the vindictive furies, periſhed miſerably. The tale is embelliſhed by other writers with this circumſtance: that Althæa, at the time of Meleager's birth, had received from the hands of the Deſtinies (three ſiſters who preſide over human fortunes) a billet which they told her ſhould be coeval with her ſon; as long as that remained entire, he was to live: in her paſſion of anger, Althæa caſt the fatal billet into the flames, which being conſumed, Meleager expired. Unable to ſurvive him, Althæa and Cleopatra laid violent hands on themſelves. The calamitous end of Œneus himſelf completed the puniſhment of his offence: he died a wretched exile at Argos, to which he had fled for refuge after being driven from the throne of Calydon. Before his deceaſe, his younger ſon Tydeus fell in the Theban war; and his daughter Deianira, whom Hercules had wedded, in a fit of jealouſy wrought the deſtruction of her huſband, and repenting of the deed, killed herſelf.

THE obſcurity, which the ornaments of fable have ſpread over this portion of the Calydonian annals, will be found to affect, more or leſs, whatever accounts are to be had of the antient heroes of Greece. The hiſtories of Perſeus and Bellerophon, two of the moſt renowned of theſe, afford ſtriking inſtances of it.

PERSEUS was grandſon to Acriſius king of Argos. This prince, to whom the oracle had announced that he was deſtined to be ſlain by the hand of his grandſon, ſought to avert his fate by ſhutting up his daughter Danae from all intercourſe with mankind, confined in a tower, whoſe walls (ſay the poets, to impreſs us with an idea of their impregnable ſtrength) were of braſs. The precaution, however, proved fruitleſs. Jupiter fell in love with the young princeſs, and found means

means to obtain acceſs to her, diſguiſed under the powerful form of a ſhower of gold, the fruit of which interview was Perſeus. Acriſius, under the double impulſe of reſentment and fear, immediately on the delivery of his daughter, commanded her to be encloſed in a cheſt with her infant ſon, and caſt into the ſea. The waves however bore them ſafe to the ſhores of the little iſland Seriphus (one of the many that overſpread the Ægean ſea) the king of which iſland received them both into his protection, and kept them till Perſeus was of years to attempt perilous adventures. That period being arrived, the hero ſet off from Seriphus, furniſhed, ſays the fable, with armour given him by the gods themſelves. From the dextrous Mercury, patron of athletic ſports, he received a falchion, whoſe edge was irreſiſtible: Minerva, the goddeſs of wiſe counſels, ſupplied him with a ſhield; and the monarch of the regions of darkneſs, Pluto preſented him with a helmet, which rendered the wearer inviſible. Some of the poets add, that the nymphs alſo enabled him to make his way, when neceſſary, through the air, by wings affixed to the young champion's feet. His firſt enterpriſe was an attack on the Gorgades, iſlands on the African coaſt, ſubject to three ſiſters called the Gorgons, the iſſue of a ſea-god, famed for their power, treaſures, and terrible appearance. From the time of their birth, their faces had been impreſſed with the furrows of age; their teeth equalled in length the tuſks of a wild boar; they had hands of braſs, wings of gold, and one eye only in common among them. The moſt hideous of the three was Meduſa: ſnakes clothed her head inſtead of hair; and her aſpect was ſuch, that whoſoever ventured to look on it was inſtantly changed into ſtone. Perſeus nevertheleſs was victorious. He ſlew Meduſa, and placed her head in

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

in his ſhield, where it continued to have the ſame effect on the beholders, as if it had ſtill been informed with life. Thence he paſſed over into Mauritania, whoſe king was Atlas, a prince of gigantic ſize and enormous ſtrength, and the poſſeſſor of immenſe wealth, having flocks and herds without number, and in his garden trees that bowed down with fruits of gold. Here Perſeus muſt have been totally overmatched, if he had not made a ſeaſonable uſe of Meduſa's head: by the help of this, his enemies fell before him, and Atlas himſelf was changed into a ſtone which bore his name for ages after, yielding his boaſted treaſures a prey to the conqueror.

We find Perſeus next on the coaſt of Phœnicia. The territories of Cepheus, king of Joppa, being infeſted by a ſea-monſter, an oracle had required the king to give up his lovely daughter Andromeda to be devoured by its jaws, as the only means of relieving the country. The diſtreſs of his people had at length prevailed over the feelings of the parent; Andromeda was bound to a rock, and already was the fell deſtroyer in view, when Perſeus appeared in the air, upborn on his wings. The event of the combat may be eaſily conjectured. He darted down on the monſter, ſlew him, and received in reward the hand of the fair princeſs whom he had delivered.

After theſe ſucceſſes Perſeus returned to Greece, where the fortunes of Acriſius had undergone a great revolution. His brother Prœtus, who had long ſince caſt an ambitious eye on the throne of Argos, being aſſured that Acriſius was now childleſs, had put his deſigns into execution by openly invading the kingdom. Perſeus made it his firſt care to humble the uſurper, and reinſtate his grandfather on the throne. The oracle, with which Acriſius was threatened, was ſtill however

to

to have its completion. Perſeus was exerciſing in the preſence of his grandfather at quoits, one of the cuſtomary games of that age, when his quoit chancing to alight on the foot of the old king was the cauſe of his death. The unhappy accident obliged Perſeus to depart from Argos: for among the antient inhabitants of Greece, ſuch was the tenderneſs ſhewn to the life of man, that even he who had killed another without deſign was obliged to go into baniſhment, not to return, till he had obtained expiation at the court of ſome foreign prince. Reſigning the throne therefore to the family of Prœtus, Perſeus retired to another part of the country, where he built Mycenæ, afterwards the rival of Argos, and for a time a city of the greateſt eminence in the ſouthern parts of Greece. BOOK I. Sect. 1.

THE remainder of the days of Perſeus appears to have been days of glory, if we may be allowed to conjecture from the honourable ſtation the poets have aſſigned to him and his family. He and his wife Andromeda, with her father and mother Cepheus and Caſſiopeia, were tranſlated into heaven, and became conſtellations. Probably Cepheus and Perſeus employed themſelves in aſtronomical obſervations, and the ſtars which have their names from this royal family were firſt obſerved by them. This was alſo the opinion of Cicero.

THE hiſtory of Bellerophon is not leſs ſtrongly tinctured with this romantic colouring.

NOT the leaſt remarkable of the ſeveral principalities founded in Greece by the deſcendants of Deucalion was that on the Iſthmus, which divides the Ægean ſea from the Ionian, connecting the northern part of Greece with its ſouthern peninſula. On this neck of land Siſyphus, ſon to Æolus whoſe grandſire was Deucalion, built a city, called at the beginning Ephyre, but more generally known by its later name of Corinth. To Siſyphus

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

phus ſucceeded his ſon Glaucus, who was the father of Bellerophon. By ill fortune Bellerophon ſlew his brother; in conſequence of which defilement, though heir to the Corinthian crown, he found it neceſſary to withdraw to the court of Argos, where Prœtus, then on the Argive throne, admitted him to the rites of expiation. Prœtus was at this time ſtricken in years; but he had a queen of age much inferior, Sthenobœa, or Antœea, as Il. 6. 160. Homer calls her, who ſaw the young prince with guilty eyes, and ſoon found an opportunity of making her tender wiſhes known to him. Bellerophon had virtue, and rejected her ſuit: an indignity which Sthenobœa reſented, by accuſing him to her huſband of an attempt upon her honour. The fond king lent a credulous ear to the accuſation; but ſo highly in thoſe primitive times were the laws of hoſpitality revered, that he durſt not embrue his hands in the blood of a man, however criminal, to whom he had given refuge. He ſent him away to Jobates, king of Lycia and father to Sthenobœa, with ſealed tablets, in which the charge againſt Bellerophon was warmly urged, and Jobates called upon to revenge the inſult offered to his family.

DURING nine days Jobates feaſted the noble ſtranger, before he would enquire into the buſineſs that had brought him to the Lycian court. At length on the tenth day the deadly diſpatches were opened, and Jobates was informed of the dreadful ſecret. The ſituation of the Lycian king was now peculiarly diſtreſſing. The honour of his daughter was dear to him: but Bellerophon was his gueſt; and a principle of religion, which in the age of heroiſm men knew not how to violate, forbad him to execute vengeance on a perſon whom he had admitted to his table. He adopted a middle courſe, and as if he meant to leave the cauſe

cauſe to the deciſion of heaven, reſolved to ſet Bellerophon on ſome perilous enterpriſe, in which he might have an opportunity of approving his magnanimity, and perhaps his innocence; or if guilty, might meet the puniſhment he deſerved.

In the neighbourhood of the royal city where Jobates had his reſidence, was the Chimæra, the terror of Lycia, which had deſolated for a conſiderable time the whole country around. This monſter had the upper parts of a lion, its middle was that of a goat, its tail was the tail of a dragon, and out of its mouth iſſued flames of fire. Bellerophon was commanded to encounter this peſt: he obeyed, and was ſucceſsful. Jobates next ordered him to clear the country of the Solymi, a tribe of freebooters, who from their faſtneſſes in the Lycian mountains made frequent incurſions into the plains below. He ſucceeded in this ſervice alſo. He was then required to employ his arms againſt the Amazons, whom he defeated, and on his return was obliged to give another ſpecimen of his proweſs againſt a band of choſen Lycians, who were ſtationed on his road to intercept him: they all fell beneath his arm. Theſe repeated deliverances wrought an impreſſion on the mind of Jobates. He began to ſuſpect the truth of an accuſation, ſo little according with the gallantry of this chief, and the ſignal protection with which heaven had diſtinguiſhed him. Not only he received him into his favour; he ſhared his kingdom with him, and gave him one of his daughters to wife.

Bellerophon's latter fortunes were of a darker caſt. If ſome of the writers of fable were to obtain belief, in the inſolence of proſperity he conceived the hope of mounting up to heaven on the back of a winged horſe; but Jupiter puniſhed his temerity by caſting him down again to this lower world, there to wander for a number of ages,

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

ages, forlorn and comfortleſs. This fiction, which like many of the Grecian tales is of the moral claſs, and ſeems to have had in view the inſolence of attempting to penetrate into the ſecrets of divine providence, is not ſupported by any thing that appears in Bellerophon's conduct. The account given by Homer, though ſomewhat involved in fable, is far more worthy of the general character which this prince ſuſtains in antient ſtory. His eldeſt ſon fell by the hand of Mars: his daughters, in the bloom of youth and beauty, were ſlain by the arrows of Diana. Calamities ſo heavy preyed on the ſpirits of the affectionate father. He ſunk into a gloomy melancholy, and ſpent his laſt years in a lonely retirement, far from the chearful reſort of men.

FROM theſe outlines may be ſeen, what are the hiſtorical records of thoſe remote ages. An air of fiction prevails through the beſt of them. And ſuch obſcurity have the fabulous mixtures diffuſed over the tranſactions, that it is always difficult, and often ſcarcely poſſible, to deſcry the truth.

BOOK I.

SECTION II.

THE inſecure ſtate of moſt of the principalities of Greece in their early days, from their mutual jealouſies, from the ſucceſſive invaſions of new adventurers, from the inroads of corſairs, or the incurſions of the northern borderers, interrupted conſiderably during a length of time the progreſs of civilization throughout this country. The firſt inſtitution that ſeems to have given a check to barbarous manners, and to have laid the foundation of the political importance of Greece, was the Amphictyonic Council. To whom the original plan of this celebrated eſtabliſhment is to be aſcribed—whether, as ſome pretend, to Acriſius, or rather, according to the beſt eſteemed writers, to Amphictyon a ſon of Deucalion, is a matter involved in the gloom of remote antiquity, and in itſelf of little moment. In what view the Council was inſtituted, what was its form, and what

BOOK I. what the manner in which it operated, are points more worthy of hiſtorical enquiry.

Sect. 2. THE ſeveral petty kingdoms founded in Theſſaly by the princes of the houſe of Deucalion appear to have formed the north-eaſt boundary of what was antiently called Greece. Beyond this line dwelt in old time the Centaurs and Lapithæ, people of whoſe fierceneſs the Grecian records ſpeak in the moſt exaggerated ſtyle; and farther on, various hordes of the Scythian race occupied the country ſince known by the name of Macedon, together with the adjacent provinces of Thrace. Againſt the inſults of theſe rapacious neighbours it ſeemed as if nature had provided Greece with an effectual rampart. The foot of mount Œta projected within a ſhort way of the Maliac bay, a deep and dangerous moraſs, leaving only a very narrow paſs, which in thoſe days was believed to be the ſingle entrance from the north into Greece, and obtained from that circumſtance the name of Pylæ, *the gates*, or on account of certain hot ſprings in the neighbourhood, Thermopylæ, *the gates of the hot ſprings*. Many circumſtances contributed to render this paſs formidable. On one ſide, the ſteepy aſcent of Œta, even to the clouds, appeared to defy the foot of man; on the other, the Maliac fens preſented an abyſs which none had yet dared to fathom: and between theſe lay an opening dark and rugged, of twenty yards breadth at the moſt, where a ſmall reſolute band might with eaſe have withſtood thouſands. And yet, more than once had the barrier been found an inſufficient protection. The northern borderers, ſweeping away the feeble oppoſition of the adjacent inhabitants, had often poured in; and to Bœotia, and even to Attica, had their depredations been known to extend. In addition alſo to foreign danger, the petty ſtates into which Greece was then divided

had

had but too frequently the claims of an ambitious neighbour to guard againſt; and with whomſoever was the right, ſucceſs was ſeldom with the weakeſt.

It was therefore deemed expedient, that a confederacy ſhould be formed of ſuch of the neighbouring communities as by their ſituation or their weakneſs lay moſt expoſed to danger, who ſhould watch over the general weal, and pledge themſelvs to each other, according as the emergency might require, either to repel the inſult of foreign enemies, or controul the violence of internal oppreſſors. For theſe laudable purpoſes twelve of the Grecian ſtates entered into a league, of whom nine were of Theſſaly, or bordering on it; a plain indication, on which ſide danger was moſt apprehended: the other aſſociates were the Ionians (the antient name of the people of Attica) the Bœotians, and the Phocians. And that there might be a permanent tribunal, where the aggrieved ſhould always find redreſs, and every matter of ſtrife between ſtate and ſtate be brought to a ſpeedy deciſion, a council was eſtabliſhed, compoſed of deputies from theſe ſeveral ſtates, who were empowered to hear and determine. Twice a year this council was to hold its ſeſſions, in ſpring, in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, in autumn, in that of Ceres on the banks of the Aſopus, near Thermopylæ; and it might be convened oftener, on any extraordinary emergency. To add luſtre to a tribunal of ſo much conſequence, its members were inveſted with the ſacred character of miniſters of religion: to them it belonged, beſides their other offices, to ſuperintend the worſhip and feſtivals of the gods (of the Delphic deities eſpecially) and to take care that violation ſhould not be offered to their ſacred edifices, or to any of the poſſeſſions which had been dedicated to them. In puniſhing delinquents,

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

delinquents, they commonly proceeded by way of fine: ſentence given, the party condemned was to yield obedience immediately, on pain of being pronounced accurſed; and if it was found neceſſary to employ force, the other Amphictyonic ſtates were to arm, and compel the refractory. Several inſtances of wars of this kind occur in the Grecian annals.

THIS aſſociation, though confined at firſt to the cantons that lay to the north of the Corinthian Iſthmus, by degrees, as the original members began to emigrate ſouthward, extended itſelf to the greater part of Greece, preſerving its uſe and dignity to the latter days of the Grecian commonwealths. As Greece loſt her liberties, the Amphictyonic ſtates ſaw their power depart from them.

WE have mentioned the Delphic temple. The diſtinguiſhed place, which this houſe of idolatry holds in the religious hiſtory of the Grecian people, renders it an object deſerving of particular attention.

THE oracular eſtabliſhment at Delphi had its beginning in the darkeſt ages of Greece. It is ſuppoſed to have been the work of certain Egyptian coloniſts, who paſſed over thither, according to ſome hiſtorians, from Crete, according to others, from the Hyperborean land. What were the arts employed in the erection of this fabric of impoſture, we have only vague conjecture to inform us. The firſt oracles, ſays Grecian fable, were delivered by the Earth. Probably from ſome concealment under ground was the oracular voice made to iſſue. No temple was known at Delphi in thoſe days of ſimplicity. The abode of the deity was formed, Pauſanias tells us, by a texture of laurel boughs wrought into a bower. After a time, the induſtry of the bee tribe erected a kind of temple walls of wax,

wax, adorned with the wings of the little architects, compoſed the oracular dwelling. To the Earth ſucceeded Themis, the goddeſs of juſtice. It ſhould ſeem from this tradition, that the oracular miniſters had now aſſumed to themſelves ſome kind of judicial authority. Finally, Apollo or the Sun, a deity confeſſedly of Egyptian origin, to whom according to the pagan ritual prophetic inſpiration peculiarly belonged, had the oracle committed to his care.

BUT in whatſoever obſcurity the origin of this eſtabliſhment may be enveloped, there is little difficulty in accounting for the views of the eſtabliſhers. Doubtleſs their purpoſe was, to obtain a dominion over the ſavage tribes of the country by poſſeſſing them with the belief, that they were the intrepreters of heaven, and that the ſecret of human deſtinies was in their hands. And certainly, in thoſe infant days of the Grecian people, many things concurred in favour of ſuch an attempt—the deſire natural to the human mind of looking into futurity; the diſpoſition to the love of the marvellous, always ſtrongeſt in the barbarous and uninſtructed; above all, the continual ſucceſſion of new invaders, of wars, of revolutions, with which Greece about this period began to be, and was for ſeveral ages after, afflicted heavily; calamities which muſt often have brought the anxious enquirer to a ſanctuary, where he was taught to expect at once relief from his preſent diſtreſs, and the knowledge of his future fortunes.

THERE was, beſides, ſomewhat in the Grecian character, that appears to have encouraged theſe deceptions. No people ever liſtened with a fonder credulity to the illuſory arts, ſuppoſed to be inſtrumental to prognoſtication. A dream, a monſtrous birth, a novel ſight, a ſudden voice, the flight of a bird, the crackling of a leaf, the burning of a

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

ſtraw, were religiouſly interpreted, even in the better ages of Greece, as monitions ſent by the gods. And ſcarcely was there in that entire country an antient temple or monument, grove or hallowed ſpring, where at ſome period of time oracular reſponſes had not been ſought. At Dodona in Epirus, a city which boaſted that her's was the firſt temple known in Greece, it was the national creed, not only that a dove had been originally the prophetic miniſter, but that even the trees of the Dodonæan foreſt, and the brazen veſſels employed in the ſervice of the preſiding deity, had delivered oracles.

BUT of all the oracular temples recorded in Grecian ſtory, the moſt highly revered by the pagan world was the temple of the Delphic god. It had the advantage of being ſeated in the midſt of Greece, in Phocis, a part of the Grecian land renowned for its many romantic ſituations, moſt of which are celebrated by the fabuliſts of antient days as the choſen abode of the ſeveral rural divinities. And at every fountain, and on every hill around, had the nymphs and fauns, ſaid the Grecian viſionary, been frequently ſeen to lead their mazy dances. The mountain Parnaſſus, on which the Delphic temple was, ſhot up into two ſummits, held ſacred, the one to Bacchus, the other to Apollo. On the declivity of the mountain was the Caſtalian fount, whoſe waters had the virtue of poetic inſpiration: to the margin of this favourite ſpring, Greece affirmed, it was the delight of the Muſes to reſort; and here had the heavenly voices of thoſe goddeſſes of harmony been frequently heard. On the ſide of Parnaſſus, near the mountain's brow which hung boldly over, roſe the oracular temple amidſt rocks and precipices. Two narrow paths led to it: every other way nature had made inacceſſible. The ſpot where ſtood the

place of enquiry was adorned with laurel groves ever blooming, the beauty of which was highly relieved by the rugged and barren aſpect of the neighbouring parts: and from thence to the foot of the mountain the rocks lowered regularly with much appearance of deſign, exhibiting at ſome diſtance the image of a great and awful amphitheatre. But what chiefly contributed to the majeſty and ſacred horror, which are ſaid to have dwelt around this oracular ſeat, was the variety of echoes from the cavities and inflexions of the mountain. Every voice, and eſpecially every ſound of horn or trumpet, was repeated a number of times, and with a wonderful encreaſe of ſtrength: ſo that by the artful diſpoſing of ſome few perſons in certain parts of it, a firm perſuaſion has been inculcated that beings more than human inhabited the place, and the whole Parnaſſus at times has ſeemed to ſhake and become vocal.

In their management of the Delphic prieſteſs (for by a woman were the oracles delivered) much contrivance is likewiſe diſcernible. Pagan writers tell us ſtrange things of her frantic diſtortions of feature and attitude, at the time that the god, as they called it, *poſſeſſed* her. Her hair ſtood on end, her eyes rolled, her breaſt wrought with tumultuous heavings, her voice grew furious, ſhe howled, and writhed her convulſed body, ſo that ſcarcely could the aſſiſting prieſts retain her on the ſacred tripod, the ſeat where ſhe was placed during her ſuppoſed communication with the demon. Whilſt ſhe was thus, miniſters appointed for the purpoſe collected the broken accents that burſt from her, and moulded them into verſe.

These extraordinary emotions ſome have aſcribed to the actual influence of a demon, and ſome to an inebriating vapour ariſing from the oracular part of the mountain, of which the prieſts

BOOK I. Sect. 2. knew the ſecret, and with which they contrived to have their propheteſs inflated. With more probability they may be accounted for in a different manner. It appears from hiſtory, that one of the principal circumſtances by which the guardians of the oracle were directed in the choice of a prieſteſs was her gloomy caſt of mind; and that for three days before ſhe aſcended the tripod, no ſuſtenance was allowed her but ſome intoxicating medicaments, the force of which was encreaſed by her chewing of laurel leaves, and undergoing ſtrong aromatic fumigations, juſt before ſhe was placed on the prophetic ſtool. Theſe, together with the impreſſions of terror which the fraudful prieſts were in readineſs to make on the enthuſiaſtic mind of a ſuſceptible weak female, will beſt tell the reaſon of thoſe convulſive agitations.

To the general cauſes already aſſigned for the eſtimation in which the oracle of Delphos was held by antiquity, we muſt add the captivating ſplendor of the Pythian games, ſolemnized here every fourth year with the greateſt concourſe both of the ſeveral Grecian tribes and of the nations adjoining, and expreſsly inſtituted by the Amphictyonic council to celebrate the Pythian god. As in theſe games was diſplayed not only all the magnificence of pagan ſuperſtition, but alſo all that enchanting melody to be had from the pathetic muſic of antient days, it will not appear ſurpriſing that they ſhould conciliate an uncommon veneration to

——— *The great leader of the heavenly choir,*
——— *Whom Lycia's plain,*
Whom Delos and Caſtalia's ſprings obey.

A ſumptuous temple was raiſed in honour of his oracle, and when conſumed by fire, was ſucceeded by another ſtill more ſumptuous. Numberleſs ſuppliants

ſuppliants reſorted to it from all parts. Princes themſelves ſent hither to enquire of the iſſue of battles and the fate of empires. And ſuch a profuſion of rich offerings did the piety of Europe and Aſia hoard up together here, that even ſo early as Homer, had the treaſures of the Pythian temple become proverbial: when the glory of that edifice was at the height, they are ſuppoſed to have equalled the treaſures of the wealthieſt ſovereigns of thoſe days.

HOWEVER, in proceſs of time, the oracle began to loſe much of its influence. As the people became more knowing, the prieſts were found to be leſs ſhrewd; the temple was repeatedly profaned with impunity by the hand of the ſpoiler, in defiance of the boaſted majeſty of the tutelary god; and thoſe wonders, which had excited the veneration of a rude age, were beheld with indifference by a people better inſtructed. Then, diſcoveries were made not much to the honour of the Delphic miniſters; and experience proved, that oracles could be purchaſed for a price. Until, in the end, the Pythian ſhrine fell into utter diſeſteem, and together with the reſt of the Pagan oracles (all certainly the offspring of artifice and ignorance) was treated with contempt by the pagans themſelves.

PROTECTED by the Amphictyonic confederation, thoſe provinces of Greece which lay northward of the Corinthian iſthmus ſoon began to enjoy ſome intervals of tranquillity. Not ſo the ſouthern provinces. Expoſed on every ſide, they had continually to dread, now the cupidity of a reſtleſs neighbour, and now the depredations of ſome new ravager. Scarcely had peace been reſtored to thoſe ſettlements through which the turbulence of the princes of the houſe of Deucalion had lately ſpread confuſion, when the landing of Danaus

BOOK I. Sect. 2. Danaus from Egypt, and the arrival of Pelops from Aſia, brought on far more conſiderable revolutions. The large ſhare, which theſe two leaders appear to have had in the affairs of early Greece, has made their names memorable.

THE hiſtory of Danaus, like that of the other chiefs of thoſe diſtant ages, has come down to us much diſguiſed with romantic embelliſhment. His brother, ſay the antient legends, was king of Egypt. Danaus conſpired againſt him, failed of his treaſonable purpoſe, and was forced to flee into Greece. He had fifty daughters, the Egyptian king as many ſons, who deeply enamoured of the young princeſſes, followed Danaus to the Grecian ſhore, and beſought him to beſtow his daughters on them in marriage. The opportunity of miſchief was not neglected by the vindictive Danaus. He appointed, that the nuptials of the fifty ſhould be all ſolemnized together; but gave orders to his daughters, that on the nuptial night, at the unſuſpecting hour of repoſe, each bride ſhould murder the prince ſhe had eſpouſed, or incur death as the penalty of her diſobedience. The horrid mandate was but too faithfully executed. One only of the princeſſes refuſed compliance, and ſaved her huſband at the price of her own life. The fancy of the poets has followed the traces of theſe mercileſs wives even beyond the grave. A guilt ſo unexampled was pronounced by the judges of the infernal world to deſerve unexampled puniſhment: they are doomed in the realms below to be for ever drawing water into a veſſel incapable of being filled.

WHAT part of the adventures of Danaus gave riſe to this dark fable, or how far the hiſtory of his fortunes whilſt in Egypt may be concealed beneath it, it were of little uſe to enquire. In Greece he ſeems to have ſupported a different character.

racter. He had landed on the Argive coaſt, where reigned at this time an inactive, timorous prince, by name Gelanor. The Argives beheld with admiration the gallant exertions of the Egyptian adventurer, ſo much to the diſadvantage of their own king, that encouraged by an omen (a rule of conduct much attended to at that period) they depoſed Gelanor, to make way for Danaus. Their choice of him was in a manner juſtified by the wiſdom of his government. The territory of Argos was remarkably ſteril: he taught them to fertilize the barren ſoil; he approved himſelf the father of his new ſubjects, by introducing among them a degree of civilization and culture, to which they had hitherto been ſtrangers. And ſo dear did they hold his memory, that in honour of him they took the name of Danai, an appellation which they retained ever after, and which was extended likewiſe in the following ages to the other Grecian communities. His daughters alſo are recorded to have been the firſt who inſtructed the Argive people to celebrate the feaſt of the goddeſs of harveſts after the manner of Egypt, that is, with typical repreſentations and allegoric perſonages; a plain indication, that from the improvements, of which this Egyptian family introduced the example, a more complete knowledge of agriculture and the arts connected with it was introduced into Greece. Grecian tradition tells us, that ſeveral of theſe Egyptian princeſſes were afterwards matched into ſome of the moſt illuſtrious families of the country. One of them, Amymone, is ſaid to have wedded a powerful prince who reigned in one of the adjacent iſlands, and who accordingly ſtands honoured in poetic hiſtory with the title of Neptune, or monarch of the deep, in the ſtyle of adulation uſual in thoſe days of fiction. The famed Palamedes, to whoſe literary abilities the Greek alpha-

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

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BOOK I. Sect. 2.

bet is much indebted, a leader of the Greeks at Troy who fell by the unjuſt accuſation of the wily Ulyſſes, was grandſon to this princeſs.

THUS far of Danaus. Pelops makes ſtill a more conſpicuous figure in Grecian ſtory.

OVER that part of the greater Phrygia which is adjacent to mount Sipylus reigned Tantalus father to Pelops, one of the moſt potent and wealthy princes of his time, but held in deteſtation by his neighbours on account of his impiety and violences. Of the magnificence in which he lived ſome idea may be formed from the tradition, that the whole aſſembly of the gods honoured his banquet with their preſence. But the ſame tradition intimates, how daring was the guilt of this impious prince: in order to make trial whether his heavenly gueſts were to be deceived, he ſerved up to them his ſon Pelops, ſlain by him for that purpoſe, but whom the gods were pleaſed to reſtore again to life. From this uncouth fiction it ſeems as if the horrid rite of human ſacrifices had been part of the guilt of this Phrygian tyrant, and that even the offering up of his own ſon had been attempted by him.

PROVOKED by an inſult of the moſt flagitious nature, the royal family of Troy at length engaged in a war againſt him, which they never ceaſed to purſue until they had driven the guilty race out of Aſia. Together with his empire Tantalus loſt his life; and his ſon Pelops, hopeleſs of recovering the throne of his anceſtors, fled to Greece with what treaſure he could ſave, and with a number of Aſiatics the companions of his fortune. At this time, the court of Elis employed the attention of the ſouthern parts of Greece. Œnomaus, the Elean king, was accounted the moſt expert charioteer of thoſe days. In the inſolence of pride, or perhaps induced to it by ſome oracle,

oracle, he had challenged the prime of all Greece to enter the liſts againſt him; his daughter, his only child, with the throne of Elis, to be the reward of the fortunate champion who ſhould obtain the victory over him; the vanquiſhed to ſuffer death, as the price of his preſumption. Already had twenty noble youths attempted the hazardous conteſt, and had fallen in the attempt. Their miſcarriage diſcouraged not the Phrygian adventurer from offering himſelf a claimant; but more provident than his predeceſſors, he contrived to ſecure an intereſt in Myrtilus, the confidential ſervant of the king of Elis, to whom the care of the royal chariot was always entruſted. Accordingly, the two contending chariots having entered the courſe, when Œnomaus was now in full career, and ſeemingly, as uſual, ſtretching away to victory, his chariot flew aſunder: the king fell, and was ſlain, leaving his daughter and his throne to be poſſeſſed by the victorious Pelops.

To a prince accuſtomed to the ſplendor and martial exploits of the Aſiatic deſpots, the Elean kingdom, confined within ſuch narrow limits as generally bounded the Grecian kingdoms of thoſe days, appeared but an humble acquiſition; more extenſive objects ſoon courted his ambition. Of Myrtilus, to whom he had promiſed a part of the kingdom in requital of his treachery, he ſoon got rid, by inventing a charge againſt him, for which he put him to death. The city of Olympia in the neighbourhood of Elis was a diſtinct principality, that ſeemed to preſs on the Elean borders: on ſome pretence or another he ejected the prince who reigned there, and united it to the crown of Elis. In like manner he went on, enlarging his boundaries at the expence of the ſeveral petty ſovereignties around him; and where he could not hope to ſubjugate, he created to himſelf an influence, in

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BOOK I. Sect. 2.

ſome neighbouring ſtates by the force of money, in others by intrigue and artful ſervices. His ſons and grandſons alſo, as they grew up, he made the inſtruments of his ambition, contriving for them ſuch marriages as promiſed aggrandiſement to his family, and ſtrengthening himſelf by alliances with the moſt potent of theſe ſouthern kingdoms.

THIS policy ſoon effected what he had in view. In ſome few years he ſaw himſelf the moſt reſpected of the Grecian chieftains: moſt of the ſouthern princes were either his confederates or dependents; and the entire peninſula to the ſouthward of the Corinthian iſthmus, quitting the name of Ægialea or Apia, by which it was known in early days, carried down to the ſucceeding generations the memory of this prince by receiving the appellation of *Pelops' iſland*, Peloponneſus.

WHAT makes the rapid progreſs of the Pelopian family appear the more extraordinary, is the character which his ſons, Atreus and Thyeſtes, bear in antient ſtory. The younger, Thyeſtes, jealous that Atreus was more richly portioned, had been guilty of violating his brother's bed, and by his influence with the adultreſs, of plundering his treaſures. Atreus diſcovered the injury that had been done him, but with great art ſuppreſſed his indignation, till he found an opportunity of privately killing two of Thyeſtes' children, whoſe fleſh he cauſed to be dreſſed, and ſerved up at their father's table. The ſun, ſays the Grecian legend, turned back at this ſight of horrors; and an irreconcilable enmity, which diſplayed itſelf in a ſeries of bloody deeds, grew up between the brothers and their poſterity.

NEVERTHELESS, in the midſt of the diſaſtrous ſcenes which theſe domeſtic crimes exhibited, the public fortunes of the family of Pelops continued ſtill to flouriſh. At the time of the Trojan war, that

that is, about fifty years after the arrival of Pelops in Greece, we find the grandſons of this Aſiatic ſtranger poſſeſſed of the principal maritime provinces on the eaſtern, northern, and ſouthern coaſts of Peloponneſus: they were ſeated on the thrones of Mycenæ and Sparta; Corinth with its depending territories was their's; and the ſeveral Meſſenian cities confeſſed their ſway. And even of the inland provinces it appears that ſome of the moſt conſiderable derived their importance chiefly from their friendſhip, and looked up to them for protection. In naval force likewiſe there was not a Grecian power, not even Crete, that could contend with them; and over moſt of the Grecian iſlands they had eſtabliſhed their dominion.

But no more of them at preſent. This part of the hiſtory of the Pelopidæ belongs to another period: we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them again.

The continual influx of new adventurers into Greece, how fatal ſoever we may conceive it to have often been to the early ſettlements in this country, was far from being detrimental to the general proſperity. Independently of the encreaſe of population derived from it, the frequent removes of the planters from their firſt ſeats to places of greater ſecurity occaſioned a more equal diſtribution of inhabitants over the face of the country, and gave cultivation to thoſe rugged and mountainous parts, which, but for this preſſure from abroad, had probably during a length of years remained deſolate and uſeleſs. Theſe ſtrangers beſides, together with augmented numbers, brought into Greece their wealth, their improvements, their induſtry. The deep wiſdom and political inſtitutions of Egypt, the arts commercial and manual of Sidon, the literary attainments of the borderers on the ſea of Edom, the ſplendor and elegance of taſte

BOOK I. Sect. 2. taſte that in all ages have diſtinguiſhed the Aſiatics, the impetuous valour of the ſoldier of fortune, the habit of enterpriſe of the bold corſair, all, as it were, conſpired to faſhion the Grecian character. Fortunately too for Greece, theſe bands of coloniſts ſoon loſt the memory of every foreign attachment: cut off, moſt of them, by circumſtance from all hopes of ſeeing again the country whence they came, they accuſtomed themſelves to look upon Greece as their native ſoil, and to conſult her welfare with a filial ſolicitude. It certainly required ſome time, before the tempers and habits of theſe diſcordant portions of mankind could be melted down and blended into one. When this was completed, then did the genius of Greece avow itſelf. And very poſſibly to this commixture of nations is the real cauſe to be traced, why ſhe ever attained to ſuch an extraordinary proficiency in arts and ſcience, and why at this day we have to admire that invention, that acuteneſs, that verſatility and elevation of thought, in which ſhe ſeems to ſtand foremoſt among the nations.

HITHERTO the Grecian annals have exhibited to us little elſe than the infant exertions of a people riſing ſlowly into civil life, and in the courſe of their progreſs having to contend with all thoſe obſtructions, which the jarring intereſt of a number of petty tribes independent of each other, and the inceſſant incurſions of new adventurers, muſt naturally have produced. At length Greece began to exert her ſtrength, to ſee the miſchiefs to which her disjointed ſtate had repeatedly expoſed her, and in the union of her ſons to ſeek protection. The firſt atchievement of this kind, of which the Grecian records have preſerved the remembrance, is the Argonautic expedition. And yet ſuch a deep obſcurity have the embelliſhments of fable caſt over moſt parts of this tranſaction, that hiſtory has been ſometimes diffident of adopting it. We ſhall endeavour

deavour to trace the principal outlines of what this ancient event appears truly to have been. BOOK I.

In the early days of the Grecian people, the employment of the corſair was honourable. To range the ſeas, in order to make a deſcent where any prize was to be had, and to plunder and carry off the inhabitants, was numbered among the nobleſt martial exploits of that age; and the moſt civilized of the nations that dwelt on the ſhore of the Mediterranean did not diſdain to employ themſelves in theſe predatory expeditions. Greece had often ſuffered from this ſpecies of hoſtility: her plantations had been laid waſte; her villagers, and even the daughters of her princes, had been carried into captivity. It was therefore now one of her firſt cares to make her neighbours know, that her coaſts ſhould no longer be inſulted with impunity. Sect. 2.

What Greece had never yet attempted, a ſtrong naval force was reſolved on, to ſcour the adjacent ſeas, and impreſs on the nations around the terror of the Grecian name. The ſeveral princes throughout the Grecian land were invited to aſſiſt in the generous project, and one ſpirit appeared on this occaſion to animate the whole people. The conduct of the enterpriſe, with the ſuperintendence of the naval preparations, was given to Jaſon, a young Theſſalian, nephew to Pelias king of Iolchos. To his banners multitudes crowded from every part of Greece: and in the ſpace of a few months did the exulting Greeks behold a fleet of their own, home-built, home-manned, riding in gallant array on the coaſt of Theſſaly.

Of what number of veſſels this fleet conſiſted, the imperfect annals of thoſe days have not told us. Grecian pride has taken care to tranſmit to us the name only of the admiral-galley; ſhe was called

BOOK I. Sect. 2. called the Argo, according to ſome, in compliment to Argos the builder, according to others, from a word in the Phœnician language denoting an armed galley. Whatever was its ſignification, the word has fixed in the hiſtoric page on the ſeveral chiefs who engaged in this expedition the title of Argonauts, the *Argo-mariners*.

THEY began their courſe by bearing away to the iſland of Lemnos, that lies off Thrace. This iſland, ſays antient ſtory, was the firſt place of the European world into which the Egyptian ſages introduced the art of making iron, and is therefore celebrated by the Grecian fabuliſts as the ſacred reſidence of Vulcan, the god of fire, and patron of ſmithcraft. It does not however appear, that religion had any ſhare in conducting the Grecian adventurers thither. From Lemnos they viſited divers places on the Thracian coaſt, and among the reſt, Salmydeſſus, the royal ſeat of Phineus, eſteemed ſo highly in thoſe days for his wiſdom, that he had the reputation of having received the gift of prophecy from the gods. Phineus was now far advanced in years, and even blind through exceſs of age; of which infirm condition certain of his concubines (fable calls them *Harpyes*) had ſo far availed themſelves, as to uſurp the ſupreme authority, and to treat the old king with the utmoſt contumely. By the aid of the Argonauts Phineus was enabled to recover his dignity, and to baniſh the encroaching females from Salmydeſſus. He teſtified his gratitude by furniſhing his deliverers with ample information of the perils they were to guard againſt in the ſeas which they were to explore; and to his inſtructions, principally, were they indebted for the fortunate iſſue of their voyage.

AFTER diſplaying their proweſs among the Thracian tribes, theſe champions croſſed over to Aſia,

Asia, and landed in the neighbourhood of Troy, whose king at that time was Laomedon. Him they found much exhausted by an unsuccessful war against a powerful neighbour, who in the insolence of victory was spreading devastation through the territories of Troy, and had refused to grant peace to her king except on conditions the most humiliating. At the earnest desire of Laomedon, who promised to recompense their services in the most ample manner, they espoused his cause, and relieved him from his formidable adversary. BOOK I. Sect. 2.

An exploit of a more arduous kind next presented itself. On the northern shore of the Euxine or Black sea, known to the antient Greeks, from the dangers with which it was said to abound, by the name of *the inhospitable*, was the kingdom of Colchis, where lived a prince and a people, of whose ferocious manners report told many a terrifying tale. Æetes, tyrant of Colchis, in the pride of power laid claim to a divine original, giving himself out to be the offspring of the Sun. His immense treasures, which fame declared him perpetually encreasing by every kind of oppression, he was said to guard with the most suspicious jealousy. His avarice had even prompted him to imbrue his hands in the blood of Phryxus, a young Grecian prince who had taken refuge in his dominions. On the royal stranger's arrival at court, Æetes had the art to win his confidence by the most liberal offers, and as a pledge of his regard, gave him his daughter Chalciope to wife. But in the course of a few years the fortunes of the young prince became so prosperous, his flocks, say the fabulists, being clothed with fleeces of gold, that the Colchian king cast a covetous eye on his possessions, despoiled him of all, and put him to death. Tidings of the murder had reached Greece some time before the Argo sailed; and it was among

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

among the principal objects of the expedition, to execute vengeance on the ſanguinary tyrant for ſo flagrant a violation of the rights of hoſpitality.

How to perform this part of their errand, was now the difficulty. In addition to the dangers to be apprehendeded from the length of ſea between the Trojan ſhore and that of Colchos, the entrance of the Euxine was guarded by two rocks, reported to be ever daſhing one againſt the other with a colliſion ſo violent, as to ſhiver to pieces whatever veſſel was intercepted by them, and ſo rapid, that ſcarcely could a bird of the ſwifteſt wing take his flight between them. If by the help of thoſe inſtructions they had received from the ſage Phineus the danger ſhould be happily ſurmounted, an equal peril awaited them immediately on their arrival at Colchos. The jealous Æetes, intent on the preſervation of his treaſures, had his palace guarded by monſters of irreſiſtible ſtrength and fierceneſs, a dragon that never ſlept, whoſe breath was inſtant deſtruction to all that approached him, and two brazen-footed bulls, emitting volumes of flame from their noſtrils. Theſe amplifications, the uſual language of terror, ſufficiently declare, that the tyrant had left no menace of death omitted to defend the place where his treaſures were depoſited.

THE undaunted Argonauts nevertheleſs preſſed onward, in the face of every difficulty and every oppoſition: and their ſucceſs was equal to their intrepidity. Beaten out of all his other reſources, Æetes at laſt ſent againſt them a powerful body of troops, under the command of his ſon Abſyrtus. The prince fell in the battle; his army was routed and diſperſed; and theſe boaſted treaſures, the *golden fleece* of the Grecian poets, which had coſt the ruthleſs king ſo many crimes, became the prize of the gallant company of the Argonauts.

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ACCORDING to ſome hiſtorians, to Medea princeſs of Colchis much of this ſucceſs is to be aſcribed. To all the charms of youth and beauty Medea joined the moſt extenſive mental accompliſhments attainable by a perſon of her ſituation, and in the age in which ſhe lived; ſhe poſſeſſed an uncommon ſtrength of ſoul; and what gave the higheſt luſtre to her character, her heart was alive to every tender ſentiment of humanity. Thus endowed, the Colchian princeſs ſeemed deſigned to be the moſt brilliant ornament of her father's court. Æetes accounted her the reproach of it. She had long lamented, and often counteracted, his bloody purpoſes. It was his cuſtom to offer in ſacrifice to his gods whatever ſtrangers accident, or even the force of tempeſts, caſt upon the coaſts of his kingdom: the favourite employment of his daughter was to attempt the preſervation of theſe innocent victims. And lately, when the fortunes of Phryxus, in which were involved thoſe of her unhappy ſiſter Chalciope, were on the point of being overſet by her cruel father, ſhe interpoſed, ſhe entreated, ſhe expoſtulated, and ſo inflamed the wrath of the furious oppreſſor by her oppoſition, that he ordered her from his preſence, and even committed her to priſon under the cuſtody of his miniſters of vengeance. In this diſtreſsful ſituation was the princeſs, when the Argonauts arrived at Colchis. Impelled by reſentment not leſs than by her fears, ſhe made her eſcape to them, and implored their protection. By her inſtructions our adventurers made their way through obſtacles, which without that ſeaſonable aſſiſtance had moſt probably been too mighty for them.

THE ſequel of the hiſtory of the fair Colchian is too intereſting, not to deſerve a place here.

ON leaving Colchis, the unanimous voice of the Argonauts adjudged Medea to Jaſon, as the no-

Book I. Sect. 2.

bleſt preſent they could offer to their illuſtrious leader: and ſhe became his wife. But Medea was deſtined to misfortune. Her family had a claim to the throne of Corinth. This city therefore Jaſon and his wife, on the return of the Argo to Greece, made their place of reſidence, where they lived for ſome years in a ſplendor ſuitable to their birth, and in the ſtricteſt union. Time however, by diminiſhing the charms of Medea, wrought a change in the affections of her ungrateful conſort. A new object had found the way to his heart, Glauce the daughter of Creon, a prince of the royal blood who ſhared with Jaſon the honours of ſovereignty; and to make room for this rival, Medea, though ſhe had borne two ſons to Jaſon, found herſelf on the point of being divorced from his bed, and ſent away into baniſhment. Stimulated by her wrongs, ſhe made her appeal to the Corinthian people. A party was ſoon found, who either from pity of her condition, or diſlike of the haughty manners of Creon, vigorouſly aſſerted her cauſe; nor were numbers wanting on the other ſide to combat with equal warmth for Creon. Civil factions ſeldom know moderate counſels. The ſword of war was unſheathed, fortune took part with injuſtice, and the ill-fated Medea was reduced to the neceſſity of taking refuge with her children in the temple of Juno, where not even the reverence of the ſanctuary was ſufficient to check the hand of the aſſaſſin, the two young princes being ſavagely maſſacred at the very altar of the goddeſs. What became of Medea, is uncertain. Moſt probably, if ſhe ſurvived this final overthrow of her houſe, ſhe dragged her wretched remains of life in obſcurity.

After the death of this princeſs, the ſame ſevere fate ſeems to have purſued her memory. From the proficiency Medea had made in ſeveral important

important branches of ſcience, particularly in the ſtudy of nature and of the virtues of ſimples, ſhe was conſidered by the age in which ſhe lived as deeply ſkilled in magical arts; an accuſation, to which, in the gloomy days of ignorance, ſuperior knowledge has been often expoſed. Theſe magical arts ſhe is charged with having employed for purpoſes the moſt criminal: the guilt of the Corinthians became the guilt of Medea: and even the murdering of her children was this unhappy mother ſaid to have perpetrated with her own hands. BOOK I. Sect. 2.

THE ſtory does little honour to antiquity. It appears, that in ſome generations after the melancholy cloſe of Medea's fortunes, the people of Corinth, wiſhing to remove from the Corinthian name the reproach of this deed of blood, prevailed on Euripides, one of the dramatic writers of Athens, by the offer of a large ſum, to employ his talents in favour of Corinth, and to caſt the whole guilt of this horrid tranſaction on Medea. The poet but too induſtriouſly performed the part aſſigned to him. He introduces her in his drama a violent, treacherous, mercileſs woman, reeking with the blood of her children, and by means of her magical powers executing a dreadful vengeance on Creon and his family. The poet's art has given probability to theſe dark falſhoods; and not only did Medea live an injured life, her memory alſo has become the ſport of calumny, and bears the infamy of thoſe very crimes to which ſhe herſelf fell a victim.

BUT we are loſing ſight of the Argonauts. From Colchis they ſailed back to the Trojan ſhore, in order to receive the rich preſents with which Laomedon had ſtipulated to recompenſe their late ſervices. The faithleſs Laomedon anſwered the requiſition with mockery, appearing to have loſt all memory of ſuccours which he no longer wanted.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

Irritated by this ungenerous return, the Argonauts had recourſe to arms: they ſtormed and plundered his royal city, and among other priſoners took the king's eldeſt ſon and his daughter Heſione. The king's ſon, known afterwards by the name of Priam, they permitted to be ranſomed. Heſione they beſtowed, according to the manner of thoſe days, on Telamon prince of Ægina, one of the Argonauts, to whom ſhe bore the famed Ajax.

RICH in ſpoil, and full of glory, our Grecian adventurers now ſhaped their courſe towards Theſſaly. Pelias king of Iolchos, uncle to Jaſon, had died ſome time before they reached Greece: they celebrated his obſequies with great magnificence, their laſt public act; after which they haſtened away to their ſeveral homes, each man to diſplay to his people the ſplendid rewards which his proweſs had won. According to Apollodorus, this whole expedition took up four months only.

To the ſimplicity and rude ſtate of the antient inhabitants of Greece may we impute many of thoſe legendary tales which diſfigure her early hiſtory The various uncouth fictions, which the Greeks have introduced into this Argonautic ſtory, are of a different claſs. They are evidently the language of national pride; the offspring of the vanity of the Grecian people. Ambitious to have this firſt naval attempt of theirs enrolled among the boldeſt feats that any of the maritime nations had ever perf rmed, they readily adopted every fable, that ſeemed to add to the dignity of the enterpriſe, or advance the glory of the champions who had engaged in it.

THIS whole expedition therefore, from its commencement to its period, was ſaid to have been honoured with the immediate ſuperintendency of the ſeveral deities of the pagan world. It had the ſanction of oracles and the moſt propitious omens: and

and not only had heaven promiſed its protection to theſe illuſtrious chieftains; the gods themſelves perſonally mixed among them, directing and aſſiſting their operations. Jaſon, on his way to the court of Iolchos to prepare matters for his naval expedition, found himſelf ſtopt by a river which had been ſwelled by mountain floods: the queen of heaven, ſay the fabuliſts, appearing to him under the diſguiſe of an old woman, received him on her back, and ferried him over. At the paſs of the Cyanean iſlands, the Argo had inevitably been intercepted in the conflict of thoſe tremendous rocks, had not the ſame divine perſonage puſhed the veſſel through, with a velocity ſuch as the utmoſt exertion of human ſtrength could not have impreſſed on it. In one part of their voyage, a devouring whirlpool intervened. Thetis with her ſea-nymphs bore up the favourite galley, and transmitted it ſafe. In another part, the Argonauts being at a loſs what courſe to take, the Argo, who from her divine conſtructreſs Minerva had received the gift of ſpeech and even the ſpirit of prophecy, addreſſed a ſeaſonable monition to the noble adventurers, by which they were delivered from their doubt.

THE Argonautic expedition, if recorded by the pen of ſober hiſtory, had been merely the coaſting voyage of certain corſairs, ſuch as were uſual in thoſe days, from the ſhores of Theſſaly to Colchis: and all the exploits ſuch a voyage could have exhibited had amounted to little more, than the taking poſſeſſion of ſome half peopled iſland, the plundering of an ill-guarded town, or a tumultuary invaſion on ſome unwarlike planters. Grecian vanity demanded a more pompous narrative.

ACCORDINGLY, hardly was there a part of the African, Aſiatic, or European ſeas, whereof the Greeks had ever heard, in which theſe Argonautic

Book I. Sect. 2.

tic navigators were not said to have made their names memorable; nor a peril to be contended with in any distant land, which they had not had the boldness to encounter. The streights between the two rocks, Calpè and Abyla, which form the entrance of the Mediterranean, were, in that infancy of their art, the seamen's terror: the Argo had sailed through them. Lybia had her quicksands, never known to be approached but at the expence of life: the Argonauts had been there, and had escaped. On the Italic coast dwelt the celebrated Syrens, female enchanters, whose employment it was to entice ashore by the sweetness of their singing whatever mariners happened to sail near them. To yield to the enticement was certain destruction: yet such was the captivating power of their melody, that of all who had heard them there was not one that had not yielded. The Argonauts nevertheless sailed close by this place of danger, and though attempted by all the allurements which these daughters of harmony had to display, withstood the charm. The narrow frith dividing Sicily from Italy was, in those days of fable, fraught with death: the Scylla on the one side, on the opposite the Charybdis, two hideous monsters, opened the jaws of destruction, either of them, to as many as strove to avoid the other. Our undaunted seamen approached the passage, and shot through without receiving any mischief. Even on the most trivial incident fiction bestowed such a dress, as made it bear the appearance of a miracle. Every molehill of difficulty grew into a mountain: every foe was a giant, a sorcerer, some creature of form strange and dreadful. The enemies from whose insults they rescued the old Phineus were winged, with the faces indeed of virgins, but armed with the claws of birds of prey. The pest against whom they displayed so much intrepidity

trepidity in the cauſe of Laomedon was a ſea mon- BOOK
ſter, ſome potentate probably in poſſeſſion of a I.
naval force. To enhance the glory of theſe at- Sect. 2.
chievements, the Argo alone was employed in them, no other veſſel ſharing the labour with her: and yet her whole complement of men amounted only to fifty-four; but all of high birth and princely accompliſhments, many of them the ſons of gods, from whoſe exertions therefore every thing great and noble was to be expected.

EVEN the conſigning to future ages the fame of the illuſtrious galley, by the help of which all theſe wonders had been effected, was deemed an employment of too much conſequence to be entruſted to a mortal. The gods themſelves made the immortalizing of the memory of the Argo their own work, by giving her a place among the conſtellations.

FROM the multiplicity of fables therefore, introduced by Grecian vanity into the hiſtory of this one expedition, a judgment may be formed, with what degree of caution we ſhould peruſe the Grecian records of thoſe remote ages. Some valuable information, however, we may extract with certainty from this very tranſaction. It appears, that the ſons of ſeveral of theſe Argonautic chieftains, and even ſome of the Argonauts themſelves, ſerved in the celebrated war of Troy of which Helen was the cauſe, and that Priam, who had been taken priſoner by the Argonauts, reigned afterwards in Troy, and was living at the final overthrow of the Trojan empire by the allied army of Greece. So that the Argonautic expedition could not have preceded this laſt Trojan war by much more than thirty years. By fixing therefore the Æra of this ſecond taking of Troy, which may be done with a tolerable degree of probability, the times of theſe Argonautic adventurers, and of the events connect-

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BOOK I. Sect. 2.

ked with their hiſtory, may be obtained, and a good portion of that obſcurity be removed, with which the chronology of the Greeks is clouded over.

SHORTLY after the return of the Argonauts was the Calydonian chace, of which we have already made mention.

ABOUT ten years had now elapſed ſince the Argonautic expedition, when the princes of the houſe of Œdipus involved a conſiderable part of Greece in a bloody domeſtic war. Œdipus was dead. To the misfortunes of that unhappy prince tragedy is indebted for ſome of the deepeſt ſcenes ſhe ever exhibited. There is however reaſon to ſuſpect, that fiction has beſtowed on his ſtory a much darker colouring than belongs to it. From the moſt reſpectable of the antient Greek writers it is evident, that his marriage with Jocaſta (or Epicaſtè, as Homer calls her) and the inceſtuous progeny ſaid to be born of that horrid union, are the inventions of ſome fabuliſt, of which the tragedian has availed himſelf. The only children that he appears to have had were two ſons, Eteocles and Polynices, and two daughters, Antigonè and Iſmenè, all born to him of his queen Eurygenea, the daughter of Hyperphras, with whom he reigned over the Theban people for many years in great proſperity.

UPON the death of Œdipus, both his ſons laid claim to the kingdom, and each of them prepared to arm in ſupport of his pretenſions. A compromiſe at length took place under covenant that the two princes ſhould reign year by year alternately. Accordingly Eteocles was ſeated on the Theban throne. But a year's trial of the ſweets of royalty ſo deafened the young prince to the demands of juſtice, that when his term was expired, he refuſed to quit poſſeſſion, thus compelling his brother to vindicate his right by arms, in which he

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was assisted, besides other powerful allies, by Adrastus king of Argos, whose daughter he had married. The war was carried on with all that fury, with which intestine wars are generally disgraced. The two brothers met in single combat, and fell, both of them together, by the hands of each other. Of those chiefs who fought on the side of Polynices, all, Adrastus only excepted, fell also; and together with them, a considerable part of the Argive army. Revenge gave continuance to hostilities, which ought naturally to have ended with the lives of the two contending princes: and such a virulent hatred against the friends of Polynices did Creon entertain, who now held the reins of government as tutor to Leodamas the son of Eteocles, that he refused the rites of burial to the Argives, and even pushed his inhumanity to such a length, as to cause Antigone, the last surviving child of Œdipus, to be interred alive, because she had privately paid the last duties to the corse of Polynices her brother.

AMONG the Greeks the rites of burial were held in the highest reverence: to have neglected the performing of this office to the brave men who had fallen in the field of war, had been accounted impious. Adrastus therefore, who in the present weak state of his army had not the means of contending with the implacable Theban, was obliged to implore the interposition of the Athenians in behalf of his countrymen. He fled to the altar of *mercy* at Athens. For, to the immortal honour of the Athenian people, they alone of all the Grecians enrolled the genius of mercy among their gods. The Athenians instantly espoused the cause of the suppliant Argives, and sword in hand compelled Creon to grant to the slain a place of interment under Cadmea, the Theban citadel.

THE

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

THE ſevere loſſes, which Thebes as well as Argos had ſuſtained in the late bloody actions, occaſioned an intermiſſion of the war, but without putting a final concluſion to it. The ſame ſpirit of vengeance continued to animate both nations. As ſoon therefore as the ſons of thoſe leaders who had fallen before Thebes were of age to bear arms, another force more powerful than the former was ſet on foot, and the war commenced again, called from this circumſtance the war of the Epigoni, or Succeſſors. Between this and the former war ten years are ſuppoſed to have elapſed. And what is remarkable, as in the firſt war of Thebes of all the confederate princes Adraſtus alone eſcaped with life, ſo in the other the only allied prince that was ſlain was Ægialeus the ſon of Adraſtus.

THE iſſue of this war was peculiarly diſtreſsful to the Thebans. Creon was no more. Leodamas, the laſt prince of the line of Eteocles, fell in battle, and with him the choiceſt of their warriors. Exhauſted by diſcomfiture and repeated calamities, the remains of this afflicted people embraced the reſolution of eſcaping with their wives and children from the place of their nativity into Theſſaly. Thebes thus deſerted was peopled again by the exiles who had engaged in the cauſe of Polynices, at whoſe head was placed Therſander the ſon of Polynices. This is the prince who, leading his Thebans to the celebrated war of Troy, was ſlain in Myſia by Telephus, before he had reached the Trojan territories. His immediate ſucceſſor Peneleus fell by the hand of Eurypylus the ſon of Telephus. Tiſamenes, ſon of Therſander, ſucceeded, and after a ſhort reign left the royal ſeat to Anteſion his ſon. But haunted by the vengeful furies, who, ſay the Grecian writers, ſtill continued to purſue the ill-fated race of Œdipus, Anteſion by the counſel of an oracle reſigned his

his crown and country, to end his days in the territory of the Dorians. The real truth ſeems to have been, that the Thebans grown weary of kingly government, which they ſaw univerſally quitted by their neighbours, and deſirous of adopting the republican form, were glad to find an excuſe for the change in the miſeries this unfortunate line of kings were ſuppoſed to have brought on them.

BOOK II.

SECTION I.

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

OF all the antient chieftains, whoſe exploits, real or fabled, adorn pagan ſtory, there is not one, whom Greece hath honoured more highly than her boaſted Hercules, or on whom, if in her own records truth is to be found, thoſe honours have been beſtowed more improperly. The hiſtory of this extraordinary perſonage demands attention.

GRECIAN mythology tells us, that Hercules was the ſon of Jupiter by Alcmena, whom the god deceived by aſſuming the form of her huſband Amphitryon. The intrigues of this truant deity had often provoked the wrath of the queen of heaven. But never had ſhe been more exaſperated than ſhe now was. Even before Hercules was born, he was the object of the jealous Juno's implacable hatred:

tred: ſhe would have ſtifled him in the birth; and when born, he had inevitably been deſtroyed by two huge ſerpents which the goddeſs ſent againſt him, had not the natural vigour of this wonderful infant enabled him to ſeize the monſters in his graſp, and to ſtrangle them. As he grew up, his ſtrength and courage encreaſed with his years. The vengeance of the goddeſs however ceaſed not to purſue him, by which he was compelled to ſubmit to a number of ſevere injunctions, intended by her to work his deſtruction, but which his dauntleſs ſpirit converted into ſo many inſtruments of his glory.

GREECE at this time was fruitful of monſters. In the Nemean foreſt, on the way to Cleone from Argos, reigned a lion of enormous ſize and fierceneſs, whoſe hide was not penetrable by any weapon. The lake Stymphalis in Arcadia was infeſted with a multitude of birds, of a ſtrange form and rapacious kind, the terror of all the neighbouring villagers. In another part of Arcadia, on mount Erymanthus, was a furious boar, the ravager of the country around, whom the boldeſt huntſman durſt not approach. The fens of Lerna near Mycenæ were the reſidence of a many-headed ſerpent, from every one of whoſe mouths a deadly poiſon iſſued, and wherever one of its heads was cut off, two new ones ſprang up in the place of it. Theſe ſeveral prodigies Hercules was required to encounter: he obeyed, and was victorious. Other enterpriſes equally hazardous followed: he was victorious ſtill. No adventure ſo arduous, which he was not ready to attempt, even though not called to it by divine command. No labour ſo difficult, which he was not able to ſurmount. When the Argonauts ſailed, he ſailed with them. When the Grecian worthies ſallied forth to the Calydonian chace, he was among the foremoſt.

NOR

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

Nor were his mighty atchievements confined to Greece, or to thoſe expeditions in which Greece had concern. From one extremity of the habitable world to the other his proweſs was exerted. Wherever he heard of a danger, thither he haſtened. In whatever land any of the ſons of violence were ſaid to be, he marched againſt them. In Libya was the giant Antæus, who compelled all that paſſed by his place of abode to wreſtle with him, to their certain deſtruction: the Earth was his mother, and as long as he touched his parent earth, his vigour was inexhauſtible—Hercules engaged in combat with him, raiſed him off the earth, and ſlew him. Diomed, king of Thrace, was wont to nouriſh his horſes with human fleſh—Hercules gave the barbarian to be deſtroyed as he had deſtroyed others. Buſiris reigned in Egypt: he ſacrificed to his gods whatever ſtrangers preſumed to enter his dominions—Hercules bid him defiance, ſeized the tyrant in the midſt of his court, and offered him as a victim on his own impious altars. In the gardens of the Heſperides, or princeſſes of the weſtern world, the trees were laden with fruits of gold; and to watch this treaſure was the taſk of an invulnerable dragon with an hundred heads—Hercules nevertheleſs found means to elude the vigilance of this formidable adverſary, and carried off the golden ſpoil. Such was the gigantic ſtature of Atlas king of Mauritania, that the gods cauſed the heavens to reſt on his ſhoulders—Hercules relieved him from his laborious charge, and during a whole day bore up the celeſtial vault in his ſtead. What Cadiz now is, was the iſland Erytheia in antient days. In that iſland reigned a wealthy and potent prince, the three-bodied Geryon: his herds eſpecially were of immenſe value; they were cloathed with hair of a rich purple tint, and a tremendous two-headed maſtiff, the offſpring of the

the monſter Typhon, was employed to guard them—Hercules triumphed over every oppoſition, ſlew this triple king, and drove off his captive herds. And that a laſting monument of his exploits in this remote region of the earth might remain to generations to come, he erected the two maſſy rocks now to be ſeen at the mouth of the Mediterranean, thence called by the pagan nations the Pillars of Hercules. On his return homeward, he took his way through that part of Italy where Veſuvius ſtands, named in Grecian ſtory the Phlegræan fields, or fields of fire, from that antient Volcano doubtleſs: there in thoſe days a fierce nation of giants dwelt, whoſe delight was bloodſhed—the intrepid Hercules advanced againſt them, ſlew moſt of them, and compelled the remainder to conſult their ſafety by flight.

From all theſe magnificent actions, together with many others, equally ſplendid, with which the Grecian writers have emblazoned the hiſtory of their favourite hero, we ſhould be apt to conceive, that the illuſtrious perſonage who atchieved them muſt have been animated with every nobleſt ſentiment, and have exhibited to Greece a pattern of the moſt exalted virtue. The records of antiquity with united voice atteſt the contrary. The domeſtic life of the mighty Hercules appears to have been marked with every crime that denominates the ruffian. One of his firſt exploits was to vitiate the daughters of Theſtius prince of Theſpis, under whoſe protecting roof he had been received. Theſtius had fifty daughters: Hercules debauched them all—and in one night, the legend adds, to enhance the wonder. Shortly after, Creon king of Thebes beſtowed on him his daughter Megara in marriage, in acknowledgment of his ſervices againſt the Minyeans, a people of Theſſaly who had invaded the Theban territories. Megara bore him

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

him three ſons: diſtempered with paſſion, or as ſome pretend, in a fit of frenſy, Hercules ſlew all the three. His friend Iphiclus would have interpoſed: he ſlew his two ſons alſo. He would then have married Iole, daughter to Eurytus prince of Œchalia; but the father abhorring his violent exceſſes, refuſed him: in revenge Hercules perfidiouſly, and in direct violation of the laws of hoſpitality, ſlew Iphitus Iole's brother. Murder, ſuch as this, was even in thoſe barbarous ages conſidered by the Grecian tribes as a crime exceedingly heinous; and the bloody offender was to undergo certain expiations, before he could be reſtored to the privileges of ſociety, or admitted to the ſacrifices of the gods. Hercules accordingly applied to Neleus king of Pylos, by whom he was denied the expiatory rites, his guilt appearing too great for expiation. Neleus and eleven of his ſons periſhed under the hands of the exaſperated Hercules, Neſtor only, the youngeſt ſon, eſcaping by the good fortune of having been at Geranium at ſome diſtance from the Pylian court, at the time of this maſſacre of the Nelean family.

THE expiation of Hercules was now more difficult than ever. The outcaſt of men, and haunted by the reproaches of his own guilty breaſt, at length he had recourſe to the oracle of Apollo. The god anſwered, 'that he ſhould be ſold as a 'ſlave for the ſpace of three years, and the money 'ariſing from the ſale ſhould be given, as the price 'of blood, to the kindred of thoſe whom he had 'ſlaughtered.' In obedience to the oracle, Hercules was ſold to Omphale queen of Lydia. The Lydians at this time were a people exceedingly diſſolute; and the palace of the Lydian queen was the abode of the pleaſures. The example was not loſt on Hercules: the roughneſs of the champion gradually diſappeared, and the conqueror of Ne-

mea was soon softened into the luxurious Asiatic. He even became the minion of Omphale, who, if Lydian chronicles deserve belief, had a son by him. And such was his compliance with the manners of that effeminate court, that he disdained not to wear female apparel, and with a distaff in his hand to take his seat among the damsels of his imperious mistress. BOOK II. Sect. 1.

When the years appointed to him by the oracle were expired, he returned to Greece, and took up his residence at Calydon, whose inhabitants he improved in the arts of cultivation, till that time but imperfectly known among them. In particular he taught them to drain their marshy grounds, and to confine the Achelous within its channel, which before was wont to overflow the country. An extraordinary fertility was the fruit of these useful labours, which recommended him to the notice of Œneus the Calydonian king, who requited him with the hand of his daughter Deianira*. This connection however did not put an end to the intrigues of Hercules. Soon after, he would likewise have taken to wife Astydamia, daughter to Amyntas prince of Orchomenus, and asked her of her father. His suit being rejected, he carried away the daughter by violence, and slew the father attempting to rescue her. Augè was the daughter of Alæus an Arcadian prince, between whom and Hercules a strict friendship subsisted: Hercules nevertheless, having met Augè in the fields, despoiled her by force of her chastity. The extraordinary beauty of Astyoche, daughter

* Thence the fable, that Hercules fought for the princess of Calydon with the god of the river, who in the combat transformed himself into a bull: but Hercules tore off one of his horns, which afterwards became the horn of plenty.

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

to Phyleus prince of Ephyra, proved fatal to her royal houſe: Hercules ſtormed Ephyra, deſtroyed its prince, and forced the unhappy maid to ſubmit to the embraces of her father's murderer. Amidſt all theſe deeds of outrage, our famed adventurer had not forgotten Iolè. He chanced to ſee her again; his paſſion revived; and the princes of her houſe warmly oppoſing his pretenſions, he put her three brothers to the ſword after ſtorming their city, took the princeſs away with him, and as if to make her amends, publicly avowed his purpoſe of marrying her.

THE forſaken Deianira would bear her injuries no longer. Stung with jealouſy, ſhe had long meditated revenge, and under the ſemblance of preparing for her lord a royal veſt curiouſly wrought, ſhe had inſinuated into the robe a ſubtil and deadly poiſon. Some remains of love had delayed her purpoſe; but the tidings of his marriage with Iolè determined her to ſend off the fatal preſent. Hercules received it, when he was on the point of celebrating a ſolemn ſacrifice previous to his nuptials: glad of the opportunity, therefore, of diſplaying his magnificence on that day of joy, he put on the robe, whoſe effect was dreadful. The poiſon ſhot with rapid violence through his whole frame. He ſuſpected the cauſe, and would have torn the garment from him; but he ſtrove in vain. It had faſtened on his fleſh, and every effort to diſengage him from it added to his agony. At laſt, in the frenſy of ſuffering, he ordered a pile of wood to be raiſed and ſet on fire, and throwing himſelf into the midſt of it, put a period at once to his miſery and life.

How to reconcile theſe contradictory accounts of the glory and the ſhame, the weakneſs and the proweſs of this extraordinary perſonage, whoſe ſeveral atchievements, even the moſt exceptionable

of

of them, are fully atteſted by all the authentic records we have of thoſe diſtant times, is certainly a point of much difficulty. And when it is further conſidered, that this very perſonage, in two or three generations after he had cloſed his courſe of violences by a death ſo horrid, was inrolled among the gods of Greece, honoured with temples and ſacrifices; that pompous feſtivals were inſtituted to preſerve the memory of the wonders he had wrought; and that it was the pride of the ſeveral Grecian tribes, in their days of higheſt renown both for arts and arms, to point out with fond credulity the places where any of his exploits were ſaid to have been atchieved—the abſurdity becomes ſtill the more ſtriking: pagans themſelves have acknowledged it.

To what cauſes are to be aſcribed the inconſiſtencies in the hiſtory of this antient chieftain, is therefore a matter well worthy of hiſtorical reſearch. Theſe being once laid down, the difficulty will leſſen conſiderably.

I. FROM the enquiries of men of deep erudition it appears, that the name of Hercules, by which our champion is known in Grecian ſtory, in its primary application did not belong to any individual, but was rather a title of honour. Originally it ſeems to have been of Egyptian extraction, and to have ſignified Mighty Lord, Prince of ſtrength; and is ſuppoſed to have been the name given by the prieſts of Egypt to one of thoſe emblematical perſonages, whom they exhibited in their religious proceſſions. Macrobius contends, that Hercules was the Sun. Very poſſibly the ſymbolical repreſentation of that heavenly luminary, from whoſe revolutions light, warmth, and health are diſpenſed to this lower world, might have been the prime Hercules of Egypt. Later adulation may have proceeded to aſcribe to the

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

princes of the earth the like wide-reaching beneficence, and honoured them with the ſame title: and ſo what was originally meant to be the Sun, may have become the appellation of ſome illuſtrious Ruler, who had been inſtrumental in advancing the public happineſs. Accordingly, Seſoſtris has been thought by many to be the ſame with the Egyptian Hercules: his character entitled him to that honour among a grateful people. What was the manner of Egypt, ſhortly became the manner of other nations. The Phenicians, and the ſeveral tribes bordering on the ſea of Edom, learned it from her, and in their ſeveral commercial excurſions diffuſed it widely, bringing with them, wherever they ſettled, the ſame allegorical repreſentations to which they had been accuſtomed in their own country. Of this fact the early times of Greece afford numberleſs memorials. So that probably after ſome ages every pagan people had a Hercules of its own, or at leaſt ſome deity, though under a different appellation, analogous to the Hercules of Egypt. Cicero numbers ſix different Hercules. It is likely there were many more. Of the ſix whom Cicero mentions, certainly far inferior to the other five, in point of antiquity at leaſt, whatever Grecian vanity may have feigned, was the Grecian Hercules, on whoſe adventures fable has been ſo laviſh of its ornaments. His real hiſtory comes within a ſhort compaſs.

PERSEUS, though enthroned by the fabuliſts among the conſtellations, ended his days in mortal guiſe in his kingdom of Mycenæ, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Electryon. Perſeus had four other ſons, Alcæus, Sthenelus, Helias, and Meſtor. Alcæus was father to Amphitryon, on whom Electryon, having no ſon, intended to beſtow the Mycenean throne together with Alcmena his daughter. But Amphitryon had the misfortune

to

to kill the king accidentally; in conſequence of which he was obliged to quit Mycenæ, and to take refuge at the Theban court. Sthenelus, the late king's brother, ſucceeded, and left his crown to his ſon Euryſtheus. Amphitryon's eldeſt ſon by Alcmena was Alcides, known afterwards for his illuſtrious exploits by the name of Hercules, a title firſt beſtowed on him, it is ſaid, by the oracular prieſteſs of Delphi. From his early youth Alcides was diſtinguiſhed for great ſtrength of body and a fortitude not to be appalled by any danger. Tillage in thoſe days being little known in Greece, a conſiderable part of the country was ſtill a woodland, the haunt of various beaſts of prey, the exterminating of which was accounted one of the boldeſt feats in which human valour could be exerciſed. The young Alcides ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in thoſe perilous ſports: the fierceſt inmates of the foreſt ſunk under his might; and there was not an enterpriſe, however formidable, to which fame did not pronounce him equal. Euryſtheus was alarmed. Alcides had a claim to the throne of Mycenæ; and from a competitor of ſuch ability and ſpirit the king thought he had every thing to fear. The moſt effectual method Euryſtheus could deviſe was to draw the young prince to his court, and make him depend on his protection. The prieſts were ſet to work. An oracle was obtained, by which Juno required Alcides to obſerve his royal uncle (ſo that degree of kindred is denominated by hiſtorians) and obey his injunctions; with a promiſe from the goddeſs, that laſting glory ſhould be the reward of his obedience. In thoſe dark ages, the voice of an oracle was a command from heaven. Alcides ſubmitted accordingly, and during a courſe of years went forth to whatever dangers Euryſtheus ordered him to encounter.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

THE

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

THE moſt zealous admirer of antiquity muſt however confeſs, that the ſtate of manners then prevailing throughout Greece does little honour to the heroic ages. While the champion of Mycenæ was thus profeſſedly employed in deſtroying every fierce ravager, he himſelf ſcrupled not to commit the moſt flagrant acts of cruelty and oppreſſion. He ſpared neither man in his anger, nor woman in his luſt. At laſt, the fate he had long deſerved, overtook him. Jealouſy had armed his wife againſt him—ſhe poiſoned him---and furious from the tortures the poiſon made him feel, he put an end to himſelf. In ſpite however of a life and death thus reproachful, his deeds of valour in the eſtimation of his countrymen atoned for all. As if courage was to ſanctify violence, it was forgotten he was guilty, becauſe he had been brave. He was even advanced to divine honours: and Greece did not refuſe to place among her gods him, whom ſhe ought to have been aſhamed to number among her princes.

Euryſtheus appears to have judged of his kinſman more wiſely. After ſome years trial, either provoked by the lawleſs deeds of Alcides, or doubtful of his purpoſes, he baniſhed him, together with his mother Alcmena and all his followers, out of the Mycenean territories. And that this branch of the Perſeus-family might for ever be excluded from the throne of Mycenæ, he gave his daughter Ærope in marriage to the powerful and wealthy Atreus the ſon of Pelops, and ſettled the ſucceſſion on him and his deſcendants.

IN this ſituation were the Mycenean affairs for a conſiderable time before the death of Alcides: Euryſtheus ſuſpicious of the views of that daring chieftain, and avowed in his enmity to him; Alcides loud in his complaints againſt the king of Mycenæ,

Mycenæ, and withheld only by Juno's dread commands from executing vengeance on him. BOOK II.

ALCIDES, at the time of his death, had a powerful party among the Grecian ſtates. The vainglorious Greeks would have it believed, that in the atchieving of his ſeveral exploits he was ſingle. Hiſtoric truth ſpeaks a different language. It appears that the Dorians from mount Œta, with a mixed multitude of adventurers from Arcadia, from Bœotia, from Attica, and other parts of Greece, had enliſted under the banners of this ſpirited leader, had ſhared in his dangers, and, in his quarrel with the royal houſe of Mycenæ, had adopted his reſentments. Their zeal for the intereſts of his family was not extinguiſhed by his death. Hyllus, his eldeſt ſon by the princeſs of Calydon, was encouraged to attempt the recovery of a kingdom, from which nothing but the religion of the times had excluded his father; and he ſoon found himſelf ſtrong enough to take the field againſt Euryſtheus. The iſſue was fatal to the latter: he fell; and Hyllus had now been ſeated on the throne of Mycenæ, had not ſuperſtition, the faithful ally of the houſe of Euryſtheus, interpoſed again. A contagious diſtemper had broken out in the army of Hyllus. The prieſts declared, that the gods diſapproved of this bold invaſion, and that unleſs Hyllus and his aſſociates waited for *the third fruits*, they muſt not expect to recover the kingdom they were claiming. The divine mandate was not to be diſobeyed. Hyllus retired. And Atreus in right of his wife, the daughter of Euryſtheus, remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of the regal prize. The third fruits ſeemed to ſignify the third year. On the third year therefore, in full confidence that he had now fulfilled the will of heaven, Hyllus returned. But by this time Atreus had ſtrengthened himſelf; and Hyllus, who foreſaw that SECT. I.

BOOK II. Sect. I.

that the conteſt muſt be bloody, propoſed to leave the deciſion of it to ſelect combat, offering himſelf as one of the champions. The event however was not favourable to this generous prince. Hyllus was ſlain.

THE evaſive arts of the pagan oracles are well known. The death of Hyllus ſeemed to upbraid the oracular god. The prieſts had an anſwer at hand---'the ſenſe of the oracle had been miſtaken: 'by *the third fruits* was to be underſtood, not 'the *third year*, but the *third generation*.' Three generations, according to the computation of thoſe days, made an hundred years. If therefore the princes of the houſe of Alcides were content to wait the appointed time of an hundred years, the gods, they might reſt aſſured, had deſtined them the victory.

THE anſwer was diſcouraging. The friends of the children of Alcides were not to be diſcouraged. Hitherto the religion of the times had been againſt them: they were reſolved it ſhould not be againſt them any longer. Their firſt care was to conſecrate the memory of the illuſtrious perſonage, the claims of whoſe family they were labouring to eſtabliſh, and to render it the object of general veneration. His public ſervices were magnified; his atchievements ſet off with every circumſtance the moſt likely to excite the wonder, and command the reverence, of an ignorant multitude. To make the impreſſion the more effectual, the aid of all the holy fictions of which that age admitted was called in. Jupiter was his father: the god had acknowledged him, and often had his ſpecial protection been viſibly exerted in his behalf. The vengeance of the jealous Juno had indeed purſued him: but, in compenſation for that, other deities had made him their favourite care. His dreſs and part of his armour were the gifts of Minerva;

Minerva; Vulcan had preſented him with a breaſt-plate, Mercury with a ſword, Apollo with arrows. Raiſed by all theſe ideal decorations above mortal rank, he was no longer the ſon of Amphitryon, but a being of divine origin, and therefore not unworthy of divine honours. His human name of Alcides had already been changed, by the ſacred award of the Delphic prieſteſs, into the auguſt appellation of Hercules. The Hercules of other nations had his place among the immortals: and why not the Hercules of Greece? It was true, his intrigues and violences caſt ſome blemiſh on his divinity. But as he had done, had not Jupiter, had not Apollo, had not Mercury, done alſo?

WHAT was partly the ſuggeſtion of national vanity, found a powerful ſupport from ſuperſtition. Viſions appeared, and oracles were uttered, which announced him a god. The numerous progeny of the mortal Alcides encouraged an opinion, which, according to the notions then prevalent, exalted them to the moſt honourable diſtinction. And thoſe who had engaged in their cauſe gladly aſſiſted in ſtrengthening a belief, with which their intereſts were ſo nearly connected.

II. NATIONAL pride, and the ignorance of a ſuperſtitious age, had co-operated with the ambition of Alcmena's family in transforming the Theban Alcides into the Hercules of Greece. An important revolution which happened in ſome few years after, and which overthrew moſt of the Peloponneſian thrones, ſeems to have given to this new divinity the diſtinguiſhed place he ſoon held among the Grecian gods.

ABOUT eighty years after the Trojan war, the tribe of the Dores, ſteady in their attachment to the Herculean family, revived in their behalf the claim formerly preferred by Hyllus to the kingdom

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

dom of Mycenæ, and entered Peloponneſus in arms. Four princes of the Herculean line, deſcendants of Hyllus, led them on. Every circumſtance favoured the preſent attempt. The intervention of three generations-- the tales of fiction, which in the era of credulity always enlarge in their progreſs—the artifices of party—all conſpired to give uncommon dignity to men who boaſted their deſcent from the deified Hercules. The hundred years of the oracle were elapſed. The Dores were become more powerful than ever. And together with them were joined, not only other Grecian tribes, antiently friends to the Herculean intereſts, but alſo a mingled company, who from hopes of better fortune boldly took a ſhare in the adventurous enterpriſe.

At the ſame time, the princes of the houſe of Pelops, who inherited the dominions Euryſtheus had held, had loſt much of their priſtine ſplendor. They extended their ſway indeed over a conſiderable length, being maſters of Sparta and the ſouthern provinces of Peloponneſus, in addition to the kingdom of Mycenæ. But waſted by wars, and ſtill more by inteſtine diviſions and treaſon, they now maintained a languiſhing and diminiſhed ſovereignty.

The conſequence was a rapid and total revolution throughout Peloponneſus. The conquerors poſſeſſed themſelves with little oppoſition of the ſeveral kingdoms which had obeyed the houſe of Pelops; and not content with the ſubmiſſion of the old inhabitants, they caſt them out entirely, ſeizing with unſparing hand on their cities, villages, plantations, and whatever they had been poſſeſſed of. The Dorians eſpecially, who from their ſuperior numbers obtained the aſcendant every where, introduced a total change in the very manners and language of this part of Greece. The Æolic dialect

dialect had hitherto prevailed among the Peloponnesian states: it was supplanted by the Doric. The Dorians were a plain, and rather a rough people. This plainness became now the characteristic of most of the Peloponnesian tribes; their dress, their architecture, and even their music, assuming from this time much of the Doric simplicity.

This irruption of the Dores into Peloponnesus forms a memorable era in the affairs of Greece, and is known in history by the name of *the Return of the Heraclidæ*.

Under a succession therefore of princes who during a length of ages filled the Peloponnesian thrones, many of them with a lustre equal to that of the foremost names on the lists of time, and whose pride it was to look up to Hercules as the founder of their race—under a people prepossessed in favour of a hero, the leader of their ancestors in the paths of glory—it is easy to conceive, how credulously every fable that did honour to their deified worthy must have been listened to, and how ambitiously supported. The orator, the poet, found an interest in celebrating exploits, which shed a brightness on the princes of their own time. Every vague tradition was improved into real history; and whatever great and glorious deeds were ascribed to the Hercules of any other people, the national partiality of Grecian writers made the exclusive property of their own Hercules.

The death of the Theban Hercules happened about twenty years before the last war of Troy, a short time before the first Theban war.

We have anticipated events, in order to close the account of this extraordinary personage. We shall now resume the thread of our history.

BOOK II.

SECTION II.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

DURING the period of which we have been ſpeaking, important changes had taken place in the Athenian fortune. Under the adminiſtration of the ſage Erectheus, civility and the arts of peace had, as we have ſeen, made a conſiderable progreſs among the tribes of Attica. His ſons were not inſtructed by his example: inteſtine feuds and the conteſts of ambition diſgraced the reigns that followed. On the death of Erectheus, Cecrops, his firſt-born, whom he had appointed to reign after him, was driven from the throne by his brother Metion, and died in exile at Niſa, a city on the Attic borders, ſince known by the name of Megara. Pandion, the ſon of Cecrops, after

after a fruitleſs attempt to eject the uſurper, ended his days likewiſe in baniſhment. His ſon, who alſo was called Pandion, had better ſucceſs: notwithſtanding a ſharp oppoſition from the Metionidæ, he recovered the kingdom, and divided it at his death among his four ſons, bequeathing Athens to his eldeſt Ægeus, whilſt to the other three, Niſus, Pallas, and Lycus, he aſſigned ſmall, but independent principalities. The conſequences of this ill-judged policy were ſoon felt. Pallas was ambitious; he had a numerous iſſue, and his brother Ægeus was childleſs. Proud therefore of his domeſtic ſtrength, the younger brother treated Ægeus with an inſolence, which too plainly ſpoke his purpoſe of arrogating to himſelf the throne of Athens.

SUCH was the poſture of affairs in this ſtate, when Androgeos, ſon to Minos of Crete, viſited Athens. The Cretan monarch we have already mentioned. The extenſive empire he held over the inſular part of Greece, the reputation of his laws, the influence he had in ſeveral of the Grecian cities, the vicinity of Crete to the Grecian continent, all conſpired to make him a powerful friend, or a formidable enemy. Pallas and his faction were not wanting to themſelves on this opportunity of forming a connection with the royal houſe of Crete. An intercourſe of attentions took place between them and the young prince, of ſo decided a nature, that the Athenian king took the alarm at it. He had long ſuſpected Pallas of treaſonable views. What had been ſuſpicion was now certainty: and juſtified, as he weakly thought, by his jealous fears, Ægeus in violation of all law cauſed Androgeos to be aſſaſſinated. This deed of violence involved Athens in a ruinous war.

THE

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

THE Cretan monarch, the inſtant he heard of his ſon's death and the perfidious manner of it, haſtened to attack the Athenians with all his forces, and notwithſtanding a vigorous oppoſition made himſelf maſter of Niſa, the royal ſeat of Niſus brother to Ægeus, whence he advanced directly to Athens. Diſmay and diſtracted councils ſeemed to prepare him an eaſy victory. The ſeaſons had proved remarkably inclement and ſickly; ſo that, in addition to the horrors of war, the Athenians had the viſitations of famine and peſtilence to contend with. Theſe ſevere calamities obliged Ægeus to ſeek relief by enquiring of the oracle, the uſual reſource of thoſe days, whoſe anſwer was, 'that he muſt appeaſe Minos.' Peace at length was granted to him, on the interceſſion of Æacus king of Ægina, but on the rigorous condition, that the Athenians ſhould deliver up to the Cretan king ſeven of their young men and ſeven of their maidens, and every ninth year pay him the like tribute.

THE remainder of the hiſtory of Minos, and of this portion of the Athenian annals, has been ſo ſtrangely diſfigured by the various fables, which Athenian pride or reſentment, together with the love of the marvellous inherent in the Grecian people, have thrown in, that it is often difficult to ſeparate the authentic record from the tale of fiction.

SOME time before the Cretan war, Ægeus had privately wedded Æthra the daughter of Pittheus prince of Trœzen, a ſmall principality on the eaſtern coaſt of Peloponneſus. Dread of the Pallantidæ had induced the king to conceal a marriage, which by defeating their hopes might have provoked ſome outrage. He ſoon left Trœzen; but gave it in charge to Æthra, that if the child with which ſhe was pregnant ſhould prove a ſon, ſhe ſhould educate him in the utmoſt privacy till he

he was of years and ſtrength ſufficient to attempt hardy enterpriſe, when ſhe was to ſend him to Athens to be acknowledged by his father. For a proof of the boy's vigour, Ægeus depoſited his ſword and his ſandals under a great rock, which the ſon was to remove with his own hand, and to bring his father the things he had concealed under it. Æthra was faithful to the inſtructions ſhe had received. The child, whom ſhe named Theſeus, ſhe brought up, without ſuffering it to be known whoſe ſon he was: but the ſuperſtition of the age eaſily found him a father. Trœzen lying on the ſea ſhore, its princeſs well deſerved to have the monarch of the deep for her gallant. Accordingly, from the god Neptune, ſaid popular opinion, Theſeus had the honour of deriving his parentage.

WHEN of years to execute what Ægeus expected of his ſon, Æthra entruſted Theſeus with the ſecret of his birth, and the young prince ſet off for Athens. His journey thither was a courſe of adventures. This part of Greece being ſtill in an uncivilized ſtate, the road to Attica was infeſted with men of violence, living by ſpoil, who often way-laid the unwary traveller. Theſeus had heard what feats his kinſman, the ſon of Alcmena, had performed; emulous of whoſe glory, he reſolved to try his proweſs againſt theſe peſts of ſociety. At Epidaurus, through which he muſt paſs on his journey towards Attica, dwelt the terrible giant Periphetes. Vulcan was his father: accordingly it was his pride to wield a ponderous iron mace, every blow of which was certain death. Theſeus wrenched this weapon of deſtruction out of his hands, and ſlew him. On the narrow Iſthmus, leading from ſouthern into northern Greece, the robber Sinis had fixed his abode. Such was his ſtrength, that he could bend down, till they met together,

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

together, the toughest branches of the most stubborn pines, to which it was his sport to attach the legs and arms of such as had the misfortune to fall into his power, and then to tear the wretches asunder by giving liberty to the branches to recoil. As he had done to others, Theseus did to him.

Surnamed Procrustes.

The cruel Damastes, of the race of the giants, was the terror of Eleusis. The instrument of torture which he employed was called his bed: on this he bound his captives; if they were longer than the bed, he lopped their limbs; if shorter, he stretched them by a rack, till they were of equal length with it. It is almost superfluous to add, that this bed was made his *death-bed*.

AFTER a multitude of exploits of this kind, he reached Athens, produced the pledges of his birth, and was received by Ægeus as his son. The Pallantidæ would have had recourse to arms: but supported by the gallant Theseus, the fame of whose atchievements had gone before him, the king had effectually overawed the insurgents,

IT was now the year of tribute; and for the third time every parent in Athens awaited in dreadful suspense the decision of the fatal lot, which might deliver up his darling child to the vengeance of the Cretan monarch. In this season of distress, the public voice was loud against Ægeus: 'his had been the guilt, and yet he alone was 'exempted from the punishment.' Theseus heard the complaint, and generously resolved to remove it. Of his own accord he offered, without any lot, to go on this perilous errand, pledging himself that he would relieve the country from the ignominious exaction, or perish in the attempt.

IN what manner the Cretan had disposed of the several hapless tributaries who had been hitherto sent to meet his wrath, it is no easy matter at this day to pronounce. Were the testimony of Grecian

cian fable to be admitted, their doom had been rigorous indeed. The implacable Minos, immediately on their arrival in Crete, had confined them in his Labyrinth, a building conſiſting of mazy windings of ſo artful a contrivance, that whoſoever once paſſed within its encloſure, could never find his way out of it again, unleſs guided by ſome perſon well acquainted with its intricacies. In this place of horrors was the Minotaur, a fierce and hideous monſter, half-man, half-bull, whoſe favourite prey was human fleſh: and to him the mercileſs tyrant abandoned the Athenian hoſtages to be devoured.

A TALE ſo improbable, and ſo little conſiſtent with the other parts of the character and conduct of Minos, fixes reproach rather on the relaters than on the king. To ſwell the meaſure of diſhonour to a prince who had humbled Athens, the hiſtorians of that country even feigned, that the Minotaur was born of the Cretan's own conſort Paſiphae, the moſt abandoned of women, ſay the fabuliſts, of whoſe luſtful exceſſes the gods declared their abhorrence by cauſing her to bring forth this unnatural progeny.

SEVERAL antient writers have however given a much more temperate account of the fate of the Athenian captives. By the teſtimony of Ariſtotle, Minos reſpected their lives, contenting himſelf with dooming them to bondage, as the manner then was of treating priſoners taken in war. Philocorus, an old writer quoted by Plutarch, is authority for affirming, that games were inſtituted by the king of Crete to the memory of his ſon Androgeos, at which the victors had theſe captives diſtributed among them. A vague tradition is preſerved by the ſame Philocorus, that at theſe games the Athenian youths were admitted to ſhare in the Agoniſtic ſports, and if victorious, were

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

rewarded with liberty: but this can hardly find belief. Very probably, ſlavery was their portion. And from the exceeding wretchedneſs to which a life of ſervitude, under an inhuman maſter eſpecially, muſt be ſubject, and to which the free and lofty Athenian ſpirit could not fail to give the deepeſt colouring, we may eaſily account for thoſe exaggerated ſtories of Cretan guilt which angry Athens has ſent abroad.

BUT whatever were the difficulties that Theſeus had to encounter, this part of his ſtory is not much to the honour of his proweſs. To a love intrigue he was indebted for his preſervation. Ariadne the daughter of Minos had ſeen the Athenian prince, and conceived a paſſion for him. Inſtructed by her, or (in the language of fable) having received from her hands a clue by which he was guided through all the mazes of the Labyrinth, he eſcaped from his priſon, and afterwards, with the help of Dædalus, carried away Ariadne out of Crete.

DÆDALUS was an artiſt, whoſe improvements in architecture and ſtatuary are much celebrated in Grecian ſtory. The Cretan Labyrinth, and moſt of the noble ſtructures which adorned early Crete, are ſuppoſed to have been his works. He was alſo the firſt among the Greeks, who added feet to his ſtatues, and gave them the finiſhed human form: whence, according to the language of wonder natural to a rude people, his ſtatues were ſaid to be endowed with the power of ſelf-motion. Originally an Athenian, of the royal line of Erectheus, a flagrant crime of which he had been guilty had obliged him to leave Athens. Talus, his ſiſter's ſon, a youth of the moſt promiſing genius, had raiſed himſelf to the public notice by the invention of thoſe uſeful inſtruments, the ſaw and the compaſſes. A mean jealouſy of his riſing fame

fame inſtigated Dædalus to contrive his death, who thereupon dreading the puniſhment due to ſuch a deed of violence, took refuge at the Cretan court. Minos loved the arts, and was happy to honour with every kind of encouragement a man, whoſe labours gave ſplendor to his kingdom. But amidſt all this royal favour, Dædalus ſtill cheriſhed an attachment to his native ſoil. Theſeus alſo was his kinſman: and compaſſion to the young prince, together with the ſolicitations of the fond Ariadne, made the Athenian artiſt forget what he owed to his benefactor.

By the help of a pair of artificial wings, ſays the fable, which he had found out the ſecret of framing and fitting to his ſhoulders, Dædalus eſcaped out of Crete into the iſland of Sicily. The truth was, he had prepared a light frigate furniſhed with *ſails*, an invention not yet familiar to the Greeks, which enabled him to outſtrip the Cretan fleet drawn out to purſue him. Reſentment however urged on Minos to follow him to the Sicilian ſhore. But the Sicilians, unwilling to part with Dædalus, amuſed the Cretan king with the offer of an amicable conference, and (if dependance may be had on the uncertain records of thoſe remote times) having prevailed on Minos to land, they treacherouſly deſtroyed him. Theſe latter fortunes of this prince, ſo different from what might naturally have been expected to attend the illuſtrious lawgiver of the Cretan people, together with the infamy which vindictive Athens has affixed on him and his royal houſe, have induced writers to ſuppoſe, that the legiſlator of Crete and the father of Androgeos could not be the ſame perſon, but that the one Minos was grandſon of the other. Plato thought otherwiſe. And in this walk of hiſtory we can hardly follow a guide more reſpectable. To the invectives of his

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

countrymen that impartial ſage makes no ſcruple of aſcribing the obloquy under which this prince's memory has laboured. Such is the virulence of ſatire! This monarch, who, if he had not offended Athens, had certainly been recorded among the wiſeſt and beſt princes that ever filled a throne, is transformed into a gloomy ſanguinary tyrant, and the name of his royal conſort is with like malignity conſigned to laſting infamy.

MEAN while Theſeus had reached Athens, after ſome adventures on which pagan fiction has not failed to beſtow its uſual embelliſhments. In his courſe from Crete he loſt his conſort Ariadne, who died a natural death on the iſland Dia, ſince called Naxos, in the Ægean ſea. This incident, ſeemingly of little importance to the hiſtoric page, has proved a fruitful theme in the hands of the fabuliſts. According to them, Ariadne was forſaken here by the falſe Theſeus, and had periſhed inevitably, had not Bacchus, the tutelary deity of the iſland, haſtened to the relief of the deſerted fair. She became the favourite miſtreſs of the god of vintage, who in teſtimony of his fondneſs preſented her with a crown enriched with gems of higheſt price, tranſlated in after times by the ſame paſſionate lover to the heavens, where the Grecian aſtronomer was wont to ſhew to the gazing multitude a cluſter of ſtars, which he affirmed to be the crown of Ariadne.

FROM Naxos, in conſequence of a vow he had made before he left Athens, Theſeus ſailed to Delos, to pay his offerings of thankſgiving at the Delian altars. This act of piety gave birth to one of the moſt revered celebrations of the Athenian people, continued by them annually to the laſt days of their commonwealth, as a memorial of the deliverance Athens had obtained from the Cretan ſervitude. It was cuſtomary to ſend the offerings

ings on this occaſion in the ſame galley which had conveyed Theſeus to and from Crete; and in ſuch veneration was this ſacred veſſel held by the people, and preſerved by continual repairs, that near eight hundred years after, in the days of Demetrius Phalereus, the very individual galley in which Theſeus ſailed was ſtill employed in the annual viſit to Delos. The whole city was ſuppoſed to participate in the holy ſolemnity, and to be under a kind of conſecration; ſo that, from the time the prieſt crowned the Delian veſſel on its departure to the time of its return, it was even accounted impiety to put a criminal to death. The hiſtory of Socrates furniſhes a memorable inſtance of it.

THESEUS now entered Athens: but his return was fatal to the aged king. In the perturbation of mind natural to a perſon who beheld again his native ſhores after ſo many difficulties and troubles, the prince forgot a promiſe his father had ſolemnly exacted from him, that if he returned with ſafety, he would order white ſails to be appended to his veſſel, inſtead of the black colours which ſhe uſed to hang out on her departure. The omiſſion coſt Ægeus his life. On the firſt tidings that the long expected veſſel was in ſight, the old king haſtened to the ſummit of a promontory, from which obſerving no change in the accuſtomed gloomy enſigns of death, he ſunk into the ſea below, and periſhed.

THE undiſputed ſucceſſion of Theſeus was however the conſequence of this ſudden vacancy of the throne of Athens. The hoſtile faction of the Pallantidæ, taken by ſurpriſe, had not leiſure to reſume their ambitious projects, but ſaw themſelves obliged to give way to a prince, in whom a whole people beheld their deliverer from an ignominious yoke, and who was received with tranſ-

ports

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

ports of gratitude and joy by the parents of thoſe lately recovered children whom they had ſo long bewailed as loſt.

THE firſt care of Theſeus, on aſſuming the reins of power, was to reform the conſtitution of the Athenian ſtate. Cecrops, as we have ſeen, with the view of extending the advantages of good government through his infant kingdom, had inveſted certain of the towns of Attica with particular privileges, aſſigning to each its peculiar magiſtrates and laws. By an abuſe natural to delegated authority, theſe municipal lords had grown up into oppreſſors of the people, and even controulers of their kings. To reduce the power of theſe turbulent chiefs, and at the ſame time to improve the public ſtrength by forming one community of the now divided inhabitants of Attica, Theſeus, ſuppreſſing the ſeveral rural judicatures, ordained, that the Prytaneum, or great judicatory of Athens, ſhould be the general court to which all his ſubjects ſhould have recourſe. The people had not hitherto enjoyed any ſhare in the legiſlature. By his appointment, every freeborn Athenian of adult age was now admitted into the national councils. But that a due ſubordination might be preſerved, he divided the members of the commonwealth into three claſſes, the nobles, the huſbandmen, and the artiſans. To the nobles all the honours of ſtation and more important operations of government were aſſigned, the care of religion, the offices of magiſtracy, the protecting of the laws. The huſbandmen had the advantage of wealth, the artiſans that of numbers. So that a balance of power was eſtabliſhed, and in the determination of all queſtions the conſent of the three orders was neceſſary. To conciliate the minds of the nobles to theſe humbling innovations, Theſeus generouſly gave up a conſiderable portion of that prerogative which had been enjoyed by his royal predeceſſors;

predeceſſors: in war only, he ſaid, he would require an abſolute ſubmiſſion to his orders; but in time of peace they ſhould find him as obedient to the ordinances of his country, as the loweſt of his fellow-citizens. BOOK II. Sect. 2.

As in Greece the great ſanction of every political inſtitution was ſome religious feſtive ſolemnity, which both flattered the ſuperſtition and indulged the taſte of that people for public ſpectacles, Theſeus neglected not ſo important an inſtrument for endearing to his ſubjects his novel eſtabliſhments The Panathenæa, or feaſt of the united ſtates of Attica, was appointed to be obſerved annually with a profuſion of coſtly victims, and with that captivating accompaniment of muſic, dance and ſong, and agoniſtic conteſts, cuſtomary to Greece in her public feſtivities. Every fifth year it was celebrated, by order of the founder, with a vaſt encreaſe of magnificence, which in time became ſuch, as to draw ſpectators from all parts of Greece to the pompous ſhew, and to give to this celebration a place among the moſt ſplendid of Grecian ſolemnities.

THE internal peace of his kingdom being ſecured by theſe ſage regulations, Theſeus had the pleaſure of obſerving ſo conſiderable a riſe in the value of land in Attica, as to make it neceſſary for him to aſcertain its boundaries with a preciſion unknown to the ruder ages. Accordingly, on that ſide of Attica, adjoining Peloponneſus, where from the encreaſing power and enterpriſing ſpirit of the Peloponneſian ſtates encroachments were moſt to be apprehended, he erected a pillar, a kind of memorial familiar to antient times, on the eaſtern ſide of which he inſcribed, THIS IS IONIA, NOT PELOPONNESUS, and on the weſtern, THIS IS PELOPONNESUS, NOT IONIA. This venerable monument ſubſiſted above

BOOK II. above a thouſand years after, to the days of Plutarch.

Sect. 2. THE remainder of the hiſtory of this Athenian prince, like the hiſtory of moſt of the Grecian leaders of early times, is a ſtrange exhibition either wholly, or in a great meaſure, fabulous. In the romantic adventures of the Argonauts, the Calydonian chaſe, the wars of the Centaurs, if Greece may be credited, he was among the boldeſt of her champions. But of all his deeds of renown, the moſt celebrated was his victory over the Amazons. This was a nation of women, of Scythian race, whoſe ſole occupation was war, by their ability in which ſtrange profeſſion, unaided by man, they had erected a formidable ſtate on the banks of the Thermodon, near the eaſtern coaſt of the Euxine ſea, where they had long bid defiance to the moſt powerful princes of Aſia. Whether ſuch an empire ever exiſted, is matter of queſtion: the judicious Strabo doubts it. Women there certainly have been, eſpecially in the infancy of civilization, who, called forth by public diſtreſs, and in defence of their deareſt connections, have adventured into the field of war, and borne an active part in the moſt gallant atchievements of their tribe. And perhaps, from the exaggerations of ignorance, theſe occaſional bands of female combatants may have been magnified into a political eſtabliſhment of warrior-women. More than this ſober hiſtory will not venture to warrant.

THE fable of the Amazonian war has however given riſe to a train of fictions, of which the tragic muſe hath availed herſelf with great ſucceſs. Antiope, one of the Amazons, made priſoner by Theſeus, captivated her conqueror, and at Athens bore him a ſon, called Hippolytus. Elegance of form in this young prince was matched with the ſtricteſt purity of mind: from his early years he devoted

devoted himſelf to the ſervice of the chaſte goddeſs of the foreſts, and like her knew no pleaſures but thoſe of the chaſe. Mean while Theſeus had wedded Phædra, daughter to the Cretan Minos, who forgetful of the wrongs of the deſerted Ariadne, diſdained not to ſhare the bed of the Athenian king. Phædra ſaw Hippolytus with the eyes of unlawful paſſion, ſolicited and was rejected by him with horror, in revenge transferred her own guilt to the prince, and accuſed him to his father of an attempt upon her honour. Theſeus, in the violence of ſudden reſentment, claimed a promiſe he had obtained from the god of the ſea, in whom he had ever repoſed the greateſt confidence, that he would grant him whatever boon he ſhould deſire; and he beſought Neptune to puniſh his ſon. The reluctant deity, faithful to his promiſe, cauſed a hideous monſter to iſſue from the deep, as the young hero was riding in his chariot along the ſea ſhore, at ſight of which his courſers were ſo terrified, that ſpringing over the adjacent rock, they ſhivered the chariot, and tore to pieces the unhappy Hippolytus. Phædra, ſtung with remorſe, laid violent hands on herſelf. It is evident, that the greater part of this ſtory, if not the whole of it, is to be aſcribed to the inventive genius of Athens. That Phædra had Minos for her father, was perhaps the only guilt of this Cretan princeſs.

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

It was the delight of the vain-glorious Greeks to beſtow the brighteſt colouring on every the moſt trivial exploit of the founders or improvers of their ſeveral ſtates, exalting by the help of ſplendid fictions thoſe favourite perſonages into ſomewhat above mortal condition. To Theſeus fable has been more ſparing of her favours. Many of his adventures have a reproachful caſt, and his laſt cloſe of fortune eſpecially was inglorious. We ſhall give it, as recorded by the antient annaliſts, and

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

and at the ſame time ſhall try to account for the ſeverity with which they have treated this founder of the Athenian liberties.

THESEUS had now reached his fiftieth year, without attaining to the wiſdom which his advance in life, together with the multiplied diſaſters of his amorous days, ought to have taught him. At Sparta he ſaw Helen the daughter of Tindarus, king of that country, as ſhe was dancing in the temple of Diana, during one of the ſolemn feſtivals of the goddeſs; and though ſhe was then but ten years old, his heart was not proof againſt the influence of thoſe charms, deſtined in after time to be ſo ruinous both to Greece and Troy. Reſolved to attempt the poſſeſſion of her at any price, Theſeus beſought the aid of his companion Pirithous, of whoſe fidelity and daring ſpirit he had often before made trial, and with his help he carried off the Spartan princeſs to Aphidnæ, an obſcure town of Attica, where he conſigned her to the care of his mother Æthra.

INDEPENDENTLY of her ſuperior beauty, Helen was a prize rendered by her birth an object of the higheſt ambition; popular credulity pronounced her the daughter of Jupiter. In return for his late ſervice, Pirithous called upon his friend Theſeus to aſſiſt him in obtaining a wife of the like illuſtrious parentage. In the weſtern region of Greece, called in thoſe days of ignorance, from its ſituation, the kingdom of darkneſs, reigned a prince, the ſuppoſed ruler over departed ſpirits. His queen, in the ſame manner as Helen, had the honour of claiming Jupiter for her father. To carry her off from her imperial conſort was the worthy enterpriſe of Pirithous, in conjunction with his friend: but the ſucceſs of the attempt was anſwerable to its folly. Pirithous was torn in pieces by a three-headed monſter, ſtationed to guard the

the infernal gate. Theſeus remained a priſoner, and was caſt into a dungeon for life. BOOK II.

Mean while the king of Sparta had received intelligence of the diſpoſal of his daughter, and had entered Attica at the head of a powerful army. Innocent of the guilt which had provoked the war, the Athenians offered every reparation in their power to the incenſed monarch, conducted him to Aphidnæ, and delivered Helen into his hands, together with Æthra, and all the attendants, to whoſe care Theſeus had intruſted the royal maid. Sect. 2.

At length Theſeus was releaſed. The interceſſion of Hercules, who in the courſe of his romantic adventures had paid a viſit to the prince of the gloomy regions, had obtained him his liberty; and he returned to Athens. But the public indignation now refuſed him a throne, of which his violences had rendered him unworthy. Meneſtheus, a prince of the royal line of Erectheus, had availed himſelf of the opportunity ſupplied by the imprudent conduct of the Athenian king, and was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom Abandoned by his friends, Theſeus was obliged to retire in exile to Scyros, an iſland of the Ægean ſea, on the coaſt of Eubœa, where ſhortly after he was killed by an accidental fall, or rather, as others report, he was treacherouſly put to death by Lycomedes king of the iſland, who ſuſpected danger from the turbulent ſpirit of this chieftain.

From ſome fragments of antient hiſtory, preſerved by Plutarch, a more conſiſtent and probable account may be collected of the latter days of Theſeus. The diſcontent of the Athenian nobles, ſtript by this prince of the privileges with which the Cecropian magiſtracies had inveſted them; the diſappointed hopes of the branches of the Erecthean family, who in Theſeus ſaw an intruder into

BOOK II. Sect. 2.

into a throne which they had conſidered as vacant; the malice of popular leaders, traducing Theſeus, as having ſuppreſſed the municipal tribunals only to enlarge his own power, as having removed the villagers of Attica from the freedom of rural life to be encloſed and more effectually enſlaved within the barriers of a city; all theſe cauſes conſpired to nouriſh a reſentment againſt him at home, which at length produced an open inſurrection. The enemies of Theſeus found an ally in the Spartan king, who, it is likely, beheld with impatience the boundary which the Athenian had erected, as preſcribing limits to the Peloponneſian ſtates. Theſeus ſaw his danger, and prepared to meet it. His firſt exertion was againſt Sparta, in providing for the ſecurity of his own frontier, or in making incurſions into Sparta: and in one of theſe, the Spartan princeſs was, among other priſoners, carried off, and conveyed to Aphidnæ. The iſſue of the war proved, however, unfortunate to Theſeus. Unable to cope with the union of domeſtic and foreign enemies, he retired from a country where his many ſervices had been ſo ungratefully requited, and removed his family to Eubœa. His death followed ſhortly after, not without a ſuſpicion that Meneſtheus and his party had ſhared with Lycomedes in the guilt of it.

AN account ſo diſhonouring to Athens her vanity would not permit her to adopt. The aid of fable was therefore employed. And to remove the imputation of ingratitude from the Athenian people, Theſeus was pronounced to be criminal.

AT the time of the Trojan war, Meneſtheus was ſeated on the throne, and commanded the Athenians at the ſiege of Troy. But he did not live to return to Greece. After his death, Demophoon

mophoon the ſon of Theſeus obtained the king- BOOK
dom. II.

IT is remarkable, that as Theſeus had his con- Sect. 2.
cluding fortunes overſet by domeſtic faction, ſo after the lapſe of near five centuries, by domeſtic faction was his memory reſtored to honour. Cimon the ſon of Miltiades, eminent as he was by his birth, and ſtill more by the important ſervices he had rendered to his country, ſuffered the luſtre of his virtues to be tarniſhed by a mean jealouſy againſt Themiſtocles, and wiſhed to ſupplant the hero of Salamis in the favour of the people. An opportunity for this purpoſe ſeemed to offer itſelf, when Cimon was commiſſioned to exterminate certain Dolopian pirates, who had formed a ſettlement on the iſland of Scyros. He remembered the antient tradition, that in this iſland Theſeus had ended his days, and was buried. Search was therefore made by his order, and the bones of the Athenian hero being found, or ſuppoſed to be found, were removed with all imaginable pomp to Athens. Here the venerable remains were depoſited in a ſumptuous monument erected for their reception. Theſeus was even announced a god. A magnificent temple was raiſed, prieſts and ſacrifices were appointed to the new divinity; and agreeably to the character which this patron of liberty had ſuſtained in life, his temple was declared to be a ſanctuary, where the unfriended ſlave and meaneſt outcaſt ſhould for ever find a refuge from injury and oppreſſion. To give the greater dignity to the eſtabliſhment, the ſeveral feſtive ſports, which were the uſual ornaments of the Grecian ſolemnities, were produced on the ſacred occaſion, together with the moſt ſplendid dramatic entertainments that Athens had ever ſeen.

THE

BOOK II. SECT. 2.

THE effect of this ſtroke of policy correſponded fully with the illiberal views of the contriver. It gave him a decided advantage over his rival, in the eyes of a people, fond of public ſhew, but ſtill more delighted with the compliment paid to their own vanity in the honours thus beſtowed on the founder of the Athenian democracy; and all thoſe effuſions of gratitude, which republican ſtates in the higheſt intoxication of liberty have been prompted to laviſh on their caſual favourites, Cimon at this time enjoyed. Such as had been the fate of Theſeus, was alſo the fate of Themiſtocles. The victim of rival ambition, he whoſe counſels and valour had ſaved Athens, was obliged to ſave himſelf by retiring to a foreign land; and, as if to render the reſemblance between him and the Athenian ſovereign more ſtriking, like Theſeus he was lamented and honoured by his countrymen, when neither their lamentations nor honours could avail him.

BOOK II.

SECTION III.

THE hiſtory of the ſecond Trojan war has had an eminent advantage: it has been ſung by the greateſt genius of antiquity, and has given riſe to the two fineſt poems that Greece and Rome had to boaſt of. However, we are not to ſuppoſe, that Homer or Virgil entered deep into all the hiſtorical cauſes of this war: they were only to make choice of thoſe portions and circumſtances of it, that were moſt ſuſceptible of poetical ornament, and might advance higheſt the glory of thoſe nations for whom they wrote. It may therefore be allowble to conſider it in another point of view, and to trace its connection with the preceding part of the Grecian hiſtory.

MENELAUS, huſband to Helen, was the deſcendant of Tantalus king of Sipylus. The crimes of that perfidious prince, as we have ſeen, had loſt

BOOK II. Sect. 3.

loſt his family the crown. He had offered violence to Ganymede, the ſon of Tros king of Troy, even in the temple of Jupiter, whither he was come to ſacrifice; and the princes of that houſe never ceaſed warring againſt the houſe of Tantalus till they dethroned the guilty race. Pelops, ſon to Tantalus (for Tantalus did not live to ſee the final overthrow of his family) retired into Geeece to Piſa, where he obtained to wife Hippodamia daughter of Œnomaus, and got poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty. He had two ſons by her, Atreus and Thyeſtes. Atreus married Ætrope, daughter to Euryſtheus king of Mycenæ, and ſucceeded Euryſtheus. Agamemnon and Menelaus were the grandſons, or more probably the ſons of Atreus; after whoſe death Agamemnon aſcended the throne of Mycenæ, and Menelaus, by the marriage of Helen, became king of Sparta. Helen was the daughter of Tyndarus and Leda. They owed the Spartan crown to the bounty of Hercules, and were bound by a ſolemn promiſe to reſtore it to his poſterity. But the ſtate of the Herculean princes was much fallen; and the faithleſs Tyndarus thought himſelf diſcharged from an obligation, which, he flattered himſelf, might now be violated with impunity. And probably hence it was, that he wedded his daughter Clytemneſtra to Agamemnon, and made choice of Menelaus for his other daughter Helen. He ſought to ſecure himſelf by a double alliance to a family, on whoſe crown the Heraclidæ had a claim, and who therefore from principles of intereſt muſt be always ready to concur in excluding them out of Peloponneſus.

It may naturally be conjectured, that the Trojan king beheld with indignation the flouriſhing fortunes of this race of Tantalus, whoſe crimes had been rewarded with the poſſeſſion of ſo many kingdoms.

kingdoms. But beſides this particular cauſe of hatred to the Pelopidæ, he had reaſon to complain of Greece in general: they had laid waſte his country in the time of the Argonautic expedition; they had ſpilled the blood of all his neareſt kindred, and had taken away his ſiſter Heſione captive. Priam made preparations for repaying theſe wrongs to Greece: he fortified his city, and formed many conſiderable alliances; and when he thought himſelf in a condition to bid defiance to his enemies, Paris was ſent with a fleet to make repriſals. The firſt expedition of this young prince was on the coaſts of Laconia, where, in the abſence of Menelaus, he plundered his treaſures, and carried off his wife Helen, who, if the poets may be believed, was not ill pleaſed with her captivity. The character of Paris is loaded by many writers with the charges of ingratitude and perfidy, as if he had been hoſpitably entertained at the court of Menelaus, and had taken the opportunity of deluding away the Spartan queen. It is indeed by no means agreed, what motives engaged Paris in this expedition: but it ſeems to be generally acknowledged, that he ſet out in a hoſtile manner; and ſome even pretend, that he declared his purpoſe to vindicate his aunt Heſione, who ſuffered much injurious treatment from her huſband Telamon. Be his motives however what they might, it is ſcarcely to be imagined, that he ſhould come with views of amity to the court of any of the Pelopian princes, where at beſt he muſt have expected a cool and contemptuous reception. And indeed the large ſpoils with which the Trojan fleet returned laden, and which, as it appears from Homer, contributed not leſs than the rape of Helen to excite the Grecians to arms, make it much more probable that his principal object was to inſult and ravage. But the accounts we have of

BOOK II. Sect. 3.

BOOK II. Sect. 3.

this event are moſtly from Grecian authors, who would naturally endeavour to blacken the Trojans, and to render the cauſe of their own country honourable and fair-ſeeming.

IT is obvious to enquire how it came to paſs, that Helen ſhould at this period have the title of queen of Sparta, and Menelaus be ſpoken of as poſſeſſing that throne, when the ſucceſſion belonged to Caſtor and Pollux, the ſons of Tyndarus, and brothers of Helen. If theſe were alive, and in Sparta, why did they make no oppoſition to the Trojans? if they were dead, why does Homer, in the third book of the Iliad, introduce Helen, when ſhe takes a review of the Grecian chiefs, expreſſing much ſurpriſe at their abſence? The difficulty will be explained, if, as ſome authors have aſſerted, Tyndarus divided his kingdom equally among his three children, and if we ſuppoſe the throne of Sparta to have been allotted to Helen, while the territory of Laconia was portioned out between her brothers. Caſtor and Pollux were not dead, when Paris invaded Greece; but they fell, probably, on that very occaſion, in defence of their country. Helen was unacquainted with this fatal circumſtance, for the fleet of Troy bore her away immediately from the ſcene of danger.

THE rape of Helen occaſioned great conſternation throughout Greece, eſpecially at the courts of Sparta and Mycenæ; and it was determined to ſend an embaſſy to demand reparation of the Trojan king. Menelaus and Ulyſſes prince of Ithaca were choſen for this important purpoſe; and certainly no deſignation could be more judicious. Menelaus, as the injured perſon, would not fail warmly to urge a cauſe in which he was ſo nearly intereſted: Ulyſſes, on the other hand, was one of the wiſeſt and moſt eloquent of the Grecian princes. Nevertheleſs neither the earneſt plea of the

the one, nor the abilities of the other, availed aught; and after many fruitleſs negotiations, the ambaſſadors retured to Greece. All thoughts of peace being now laid aſide, a powerful confederacy was formed to carry the war into Aſia. This confederacy owed its ſtrength to a ſhrewd counſel, of which Ulyſſes was the author. The charms of Helen had brought many ſuitors to the Spartan court; and, beſides Menelaus, ſhe numbered moſt of the princes of Greece among her admirers, Meneſtheus of Athens, Ulyſſes, Antilochus ſon to Neſtor, Ajax and Teucer ſons of Telamon, Ajax ſon of Oileus king of Locris, and ſeveral others. Tyndarus dreaded the conſequence of preferring one of ſo many competitors, reſpectable for rank and power. But Ulyſſes removed the difficulty. He adviſed Tyndarus to exact an oath of each of the princes, that on whomſoever he ſhould beſtow his daughter, they would maintain an inviolable friendſhip with the fortunate candidate, and be ever ready to yield him aſſiſtance and protection. Every one of them chearfully entered into an engagement, of which his fond hopes told him he ſhould himſelf reap the advantage It now therefore became manifeſt, how well deviſed was the project of the ſubtle Ulyſſes. Martial preparations were made throughout all Greece; and Agamemnon, Menelaus's brother, the moſt powerful at ſea of any of the Grecian kings, and whoſe dominion extended over many of the iſlands, as well as over a conſiderable part of Peloponneſus, was named chief of the confederate forces.

BOOK II. Sect. 3.

BUT, notwithſtanding theſe ſhews of war, there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that many of the Grecians were in their hearts averſe from this expedition, and privately laboured to diſcredit it. A report was induſtriouſly propagated, that Troy could not be taken but at extreme hazard, and that many

Book II. Sect. 3. things were first to be performed, of which even the possibility was greatly to be questioned. The Greeks were to get possession of the image of Pallas, which was guarded with most religious care in the Trojan citadel: and the tomb of Laomedon, built on one of the gates of Troy, was to be demolished by the Trojans themselves. Besides, the first Grecian, that should set his foot on the Trojan shore, was doomed to die. The priests declared, that without Achilles the son of Peleus the Greeks could not be victorious; and yet they affirmed, that if this prince went to the war, he should never see his native country more. The oracles required also, that the arrows of Hercules, which had been dipped in the blood of the Hydra, should be brought to the siege of Troy: but it was not to be expected, that the friend of Hercules, Philoctetes, to whose care they had been entrusted, would ever be assistant to the aggrandizing of the house of Pelops.

By the abilities and art, however, of Agamemnon and his friends most of these difficulties were removed, or the influence of such reports was taken off, and ten years after the rape of Helen a numerous army, with a fleet of twelve hundred transports, was got in readiness. The place of rendezvous was Aulis, a port of the island Eubœa, and all things seemed now to promise a prosperous expedition, when they who opposed Agamemnon's counsels had a new opportunity of carrying their schemes into execution. There was a dead calm for some days; and the prophet Calchas, having been gained over by some of the enemies of the Atridæ, declared, that the gods were offended with Agamemnon, nor should propitious gales ever revisit the Grecian fleet, until he had appeased heaven by the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia. The prophet's declaration was soon divulged among the

the ſuperſtitious ſoldiery; and Agamemnon, too anxious to preſerve the ſupreme command, reſolved to gratify ambition at the expence of his paternal tenderneſs. However, the princeſs was not ſacrificed. Achilles, they ſay, interpoſing in her behalf, and threatening deſtruction to Calchas if he did not ſave her, the affrighted ſoothſayer found out ſome other way of placating his gods, and in a ſhort time the fleet ſailed for Aſia.

PRIAM was not ignorant of their deſigns, and had employed every method to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the invaſion. Neither fortifications, nor martial equipments, nor alliances had been forgotten: and ſo many were the princes who eſpouſed his cauſe, that it coſt the Greeks nine years to ſubdue the nations in confederacy with Troy. In the tenth year, they ſat down before the city. And here, if we may believe the poets, were the moſt amazing acts of proweſs performed on either ſide; the Trojans, and eſpecially the princes of the houſe of Priam, eminently diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the defence of their deareſt rights; and on the other hand, the Grecians daring all the dangers of the war to weaken and diſtreſs the Trojans. At length, the great Hector fell. That brave ſon of Priam, who had long approved himſelf both in council and in arms the faithfulleſt friend to his country's cauſe, and had often ſent confuſion and diſmay through the Grecian hoſt, was ſlain by Achilles, and opprobriouſly dragged round the walls of Troy. It were to be wiſhed, Homer had not made his hero fully all his glories by wreaking his vengeance in ſo poor a manner on the corſe of this noble Trojan. Yet perhaps the poet meant this as one inſtance of the dire effects of furious wrath, even in the moſt generous minds; the main object of his immortal work being to ſhew the miſchiefs of ungoverned paſſion, as well

as

BOOK II. Sect. 5. as what a train of calamities the faults of princes bring upon their people. The ſcene opens with a diſplay of the pride and injurious haughtineſs of Agamemnon, who had refuſed to accept of a ranſom for Chryſeis, daughter to Chryſes prieſt of Apollo. The god, moved by the prayers of this afflicted father, ſends a plague among the Greeks. For nine days had the raging peſtilence waſted the Grecian army, when a council is convened, and Calchas makes known the high beheſts of heaven. Achilles ſupports the prophet, and urges the king to do honour to the god, and ſave his country. Preſſed by the neceſſity of affairs, and full of ſullen wrath, Agamemnon reſtores to the prieſt his captive daughter; but then, to indemnify himſelf, he vauntingly ſeizes on Briſeis, a fair ſlave whom Achilles loved with extreme tenderneſs. Achilles felt ſenſibly the inſult, and reſolved to ſerve no longer ſo violent and unjuſt a king. This brought numberleſs evils on the Greeks, the Trojans being victorious in every place in the abſence of Achilles; until Patroclus, the boſom friend of the Grecian hero, being ſlain in one of theſe engagements, the power of friendſhip triumphed over every other conſideration, and Achilles marched out again to battle. His preſence brought back victory to the Grecians, and Hector, the bulwark of Troy, ſoon fell by his hand.—Theſe are the outlines of the Iliad. Within theſe the divine poet has wrought a number of beautiful epiſodes with ſo much delicacy and ſtrength of genius, he has painted nature with ſuch lively colouring, and has ſo happily availed himſelf of the machinery of deities which the pagan religion admitted of, that now for above five and twenty centuries his works have been the delight of the moſt improved nations, and have been thought to deſerve the care and attention

attention of ſome of the greateſt princes the world has beheld.

HOMER has paid a high compliment to the Trojan prince by cloſing his poem with the death and burial of Hector, as if, when he was fallen, there was nothing more, worthy to be recorded. The hiſtory of the war is thus continued by other writers.

THE charms of Polyxena, the daughter of Priam, had made ſuch an impreſſion on the breaſt of the formidable foe of Troy, Achilles, that for her ſake he is ſaid to have determined to change his party; and in order to eſpouſe her, he committed himſelf to the faith of the enemy by entering the temple of Apollo in the citadel. Here Paris, treacherouſly concealed behind the ſtatue of the god, directed a fatal ſhaft againſt the heel of the hero, his only vulnerable part, and wounded him mortally. The ſtand from which the arrow was directed gave the poets occaſion to ſay, the wound was inflicted by the hand of Apollo himſelf.

PYRRHUS, the ſon of Achilles, ſucceeded to his father's place at the ſiege of Troy, and according to Virgil, ſeverely did he revenge his death on the perfidious Trojans. Soon after his arrival, the city was taken, or rather betrayed into the hands of the Greeks. He filled the royal palace with ſlaughter; neither age nor dignity checked his reeking ſword: he did not even ſpare old Priam, to whoſe virtues his very enemies bore witneſs; and he cauſed Polyxena to be ſacrificed at the tomb of Achilles.

IN this manner did the Greeks return victorious after a ten years labour; but their victory was dearly purchaſed. They had loſt the flower of their army, with many of the braveſt of their chiefs, Peneleus leader of the Bœotian people, Tlepolemus the ſon of Hercules, Therſander the ſon of Polynices, Antilochus the ſon of Neſtor: and

BOOK II. Sect. 3.

and even of thoſe princes who eſcaped with life, few ever ſaw their country again in peace. Their long abſence from their ſeveral kingdoms had encouraged faction, and given riſe to many diſorders in their private families. Pyrrhus, Achilles' ſon, was deprived of his father's kingdom in Theſſaly, and obliged to ſettle in Epire. The brave Diomedes, whoſe valour had greatly contributed to the reduction of Troy, found his court diſtracted through the intrigues and debaucheries of his queen Ægialea, and, aſhamed of her infamous practices, retired into Italy. Philoctetes, who reigned over a part of Theſſaly, was expelled by his ſeditious ſubject, and departed likewiſe into Italy, where he built the city of Petilia. Agapenor, king of Arcadia, was driven by contrary winds to another country, and never returned to Greece. Agamemnon came back to Mycenæ; but was ſoon after murdered by his own wife Clytemneſtra, and her gallant Ægiſthus. And the wiſe Ulyſſes, whoſe counſels had been often the ſafety of the Grecian army, was for ten years toſt from ſea to ſea, and when at laſt he reached Ithaca, he was anew obliged to take up arms againſt the chief lords of his kingdom, who had uſurped lawleſs power, and held his queen Penelope in a kind of thraldom. The fate alſo of Idomeneus, king of Crete, was extremely deplorable. In the midſt of a ſtorm, he had raſhly vowed to ſacrifice to the gods the firſt object he ſhould meet with after his landing on the Cretan ſhore. No ſooner was he arrived, but his own ſon, his eldeſt child, moved by filial affection, ran eagerly to embrace him. The ſuperſtitious father had the weakneſs to fulfil his vow, and forfeited his crown by it, his ſubjects riſing in arms againſt him. He afterwards made Italy his place of refuge, where he

is ſaid to have eſtabliſhed a principality in the country of the Salentines. BOOK II.

Sect. 3. But beſides theſe, many other of the Grecian chiefs ended their days miſerably. Ajax, the ſon of Telamon, killed himſelf, becauſe the Greeks had adjudged Achilles' armour to Ulyſſes. Meneſtheus king of Athens died at ſea. And Ajax, ſon of Oileus, with his whole fleet periſhed in a violent tempeſt. An untimely chance of a different kind had carried off Palamedes before the concluſion of the ſiege. He was put to death by the Greeks, on a charge of holding private correſpondence with the enemy. Some pretend, that he fell a victim to the jealouſy of Ulyſſes and others of the Grecian leaders. But it may rather be ſuppoſed, the Eubœans invented this report to ſave the reputation of Palamedes, who was ſon to Nauplius their king. It is ſaid however, that Nauplius deeply reſented the death of his ſon, and by putting out falſe lights, cauſed many of the Greeks, on their return homeward, to periſh on the Eubœan coaſt.

The loſs of ſo many princes occaſioned great revolutions in the ſeveral ſtates of Greece: the government changed hands almoſt in every place. At Athens, Demophoon the ſon of Theſeus obtained the ſovereign power. The kingdom of Arcadia, which had belonged to Agapenor, paſſed to another line. Merion aſcended the throne of Crete, after the expulſion of Idomeneus. And the Dorians poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſle of Rhodes, where Tlepolemus the ſon of Hercules had been king. As for the kingdom of Mycenæ, Clytemneſtra and Ægiſthus enjoyed it, on the murder of Agamemnon: but in ſome years Oreſtes, who had been privately educated at the court of Strophius prince of Phocis, being come to manhood, returned to Mycenæ, and put to death both his

BOOK II. Sect. 3. his mother and her adulterer. He afterwards married Hermione, daughter to Menelaus and Helen, and heireſs of the crown of Sparta. She had been eſpouſed to Pyrrhus: but Oreſtes, who claimed her by virtue of a prior promiſe, cauſed Pyrrhus to be ſlain in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. He was aſſiſted in all theſe enterpriſes by his faithful Pylades, the ſon of Strophius. The friendſhip and extreme likeneſs of theſe two princes are celebrated in ſtory: and ſo entirely are they ſaid to have loved each other, that when Thoas king of Taurica would have put Oreſtes to death, they both earneſtly contended who ſhould die, each of them affirming himſelf to be Oreſtes. After the horrid fact of embruing his hands in the blood of his mother (who ought to have received her puniſhment from ſome other deathſman) Oreſtes, the poets tell us, was obliged to go through many expiations, before he could be freed from the horrors that beſet him. No doubt, the guilt of his parricide might juſtly haunt his diſtracted thoughts: but probably his ſupplications to heaven, aided by length of time, reſtored him again to peace. With the actions of this prince is concluded that tale of crimes and carnage, which juſtifies Horace in denominating the family from which he ſprung *ſævam Pelopis domum*, the bloody houſe of Pelops: the propriety of the appellation will appear from a ſhort detail of their domeſtic hiſtory.

TANTALUS, king of Sipylus in the Leſſer Aſia, beſides his baſe treachery to Ganymede, and a ſordid avarice which made him a ſcourge to his people, was alſo a prince of great cruelty, and was guilty of ſacrificing human victims. He invited the gods to a feaſt, at which he ſerved up to them his ſon Pelops: that is, as may be conjectured, he attempted to offer up his own ſon on the altars of the

the gods; but Pelops escaped from the hands of his inhuman father. The poets have taken care to punish Tantalus for his crimes by placing him in the infernal regions, where he is condemned to eternal torments.—His son Pelops fled into Greece, after the overthrow of his kingdom, and opened to himself a settlement by treachery and blood. Œnomaus king of Pisa had promised to bestow his daughter on whatever suitor should have the fortune to overcome him in the chariot race. Pelops bribed Myrtilus the king's charioteer to cut in two Œnomaus' chariot, and slightly to join again the parts together. In the midst of the course, the chariot opened, and the old king falling out lost his life. Pelops took possession of the throne, and rewarded the perfidious service of Myrtilus with death.—He had two sons, Atreus and Thyestes. Atreus married Ærope the daughter of Eurystheus, in whose right, as we have seen, he became king of Mycenæ. Thyestes debauched his brother's wife, and had by her two children. The intrigue was discovered; Atreus concealed his resentment, invited his brother to a banquet, and gave him the flesh of his incestuous progeny to feed on. The sun, say the poets, turned back at the sight, and refused to behold the horrid crimes of the race of Pelops. Thyestes was avenged by his son Ægisthus, whom he had by his own daughter Pelopia; for Ægisthus killed Atreus, and seized on the kingdom of Mycenæ: but Agamemnon and Menelaus attacked him, and recovered their right.—Agamemnon was one of the wealthiest and most potent princes of his time. And yet, notwithstanding all his prosperity and the greatness of his power, the fate of his family overtook him: he was murdered by Ægisthus, the corrupter of Clytemnestra, who, after his death, usurped the Mycenean throne.

BOOK II. Sect. 3.

It is remarkable, that Homer has no where mentioned theſe tragical exploits of the Tantalidæ, the hiſtory of Tantalus himſelf only excepted. This circumſtance ſeems to give ſtrength to the opinion of many able inveſtigators of antiquity, that the father of epic poetry was one of the Greeks of Leſſer Aſia. For, about eighty years after the deſtruction of Troy, a ſevere revolution befel moſt of the kingdoms of Peloponneſus, when many of the inhabitants of thoſe parts were obliged to ſeek new fortunes in a ſtrange land. Now, very probably, theſe exiled Greeks brought away with them high notions of the majeſty and ſplendour of the princes of the line of Pelops, and, eſpecially at their firſt ſettling in Aſia, might (from a pride natural to men who come among a foreign people) make their boaſt of the excellent qualities, the magnificence, and noble feats of thoſe their antient ſovereigns. Nothing therefore could be more unpopular for Homer, than to touch on the diſgrace of a houſe held there in ſuch diſtinguiſhed reverence. It is very poſſible indeed, that many of the flagitious acts aſcribed to this houſe may have been the invention of later ages, to gratify the princes that ſucceeded to the dominion of Peloponneſus: and probably alſo, the dramatic writers, according to an art of which we have already ſeen an inſtance, have endeavoured to give to theſe parts of hiſtory a blacker caſt than properly belongs to them, in order to render their own pieces the deeper and more affecting. Still however there is reaſon to apprehend, the charge againſt the Pelopians is not entirely groundleſs; for we find that Homer, in deſcribing the realms below, has aſſigned to Tantalus his place in the abodes of woe and horror. And it is well worthy of notice, that of all the princes of this family, this ſhould be the only one whom

whom Homer ventured to repreſent in a diſadvan- BOOK
tageous manner. Tantalus never reigned in II.
Greece: he was the perſon, whoſe crimes loſt to Sect. 3.
Pelops the crown of Sipylus; and probably his violence and impieties were well remembered among the Aſiatic nations: ſo that not only the Greeks could have little concern for his fame, but beſides it was ſcarcely poſſible to diſguiſe the hiſtory of ſuch a prince, in a land where his very name was had in deteſtation.

BEFORE we have done with Homer, it may not be amiſs to mention, that the opinion juſt ſtated concerning his country has given birth to a conjecture, which places his inimitable work in a new point of view. It is ſuppoſed, that he wrote his Iliad at a period of time when jealouſies began to diſunite the Ionian ſtates, and their mutual contentions afforded juſt cauſe to fear that they would ſoon fall a prey to ſome of the Aſiatic powers. At this perilous conjuncture, therefore, Homer interpoſed. He ſhews them the fatal conſequences of divided counſels, and the dreadful ills which haughtineſs and ungoverned ambition bring along with them. And, at the ſame time, he reminds them of the glorious atchievements which their forefathers wrought, when all Greece *united* roſe in arms to revenge lawleſs inſult, and reduced the proudeſt empire of Aſia to the duſt. In this light, it is only the leſs conſiderable part of Homer's excellence, that he had the higheſt-flown fancy, joined with a moſt amazing ſtrength of genius: he is alſo a great, a faithful patriot; his works are inſpirited with the moſt generous and noble ſentiments; and all the characters he introduces, are inſtructive examples to his imprudent countrymen.

THE year of Troy taken is by the beſt of our chronologers fixed to be the nine hundredth before

BOOK II. Sect. 3.

fore Chriſt, 124 years before the reſtoration of the Olympiads by Iphitus, and about twenty years after the rape of Helen. And from this epoch may nearly be determined the period, in which lived thoſe firſt improvers of Greece, whoſe hiſtory has been obſcured by fable. For between the age of thoſe princes who aſſiſted at the ſiege of Troy, and the age of Cecrops and the other founders of the Grecian ſtates, there intervened ſix generations, which being computed at thirty years to a generation make 180 years: and therefore the firſt beginnings of cities in Greece cannot be much earlier than two hundred and ten or twenty years before the Trojan æra. The extravagant pretenſions to antiquity advanced by the Greek chronologers carry their own confutation on the face of them. They have invented long catalogues of princes, (particularly for Sicyon they give us a ſucceſſion continued 900 years back from the ſiege of Troy,) but neither tell us any thing of the virtues or the vices of theſe ſovereigns, of their wars, their improvements, or their decline: all they pretend to ſave out of this waſte of hiſtory is a long liſt of names, with the number of years each prince is ſuppoſed to have reigned, leaving to their readers the taſk of ſupplying annals for this fancied train of royalty.

THAT the everſion of Troy preceded the birth of Chriſt by no more than nine hundred years, is collected from the number of kings that ruled in Sparta between the return of the Heraclidæ and the battle of Thermopylæ. For it is generally allowed, that the return of the Heraclidæ was eighty years after Troy was overthrown, and the battle of Thermopylæ was 480 years before Chriſt. If therefore we can determine the lapſe of years between the return and the battle, we ſhall know exactly at what time ended the Trojan empire.

Now

Now the antient chronology being extremely defective, the only method of computation is by the reigns of kings. And in a ſeries of kings, as they are liable to violent deaths more than other men, and as the crown does not always deſcend from father to ſon, but princes from the collateral line come in, and ſometimes uncles ſucceed their nephews; ſo it is judged ſufficient to compute each reign at about eighteen or twenty years, the one with the other. By this way of computation therefore it is evident, that from the return of the Heraclidæ to the engagement at Thermopylæ under Leonidas there elapſed about 340 years: for during this period there reigned at Sparta ſeventeen kings of each race, and, one reign with another, twenty years may be allowed to each king. Hence it follows, that there are 420 years from the deſtruction of Troy to the battle of Thermopylæ, and 480 years from that battle to the birth of Chriſt; in all, nine hundred years. And whatever antient chronologers may ſay, much farther than this the times of Troy cannot have been, eſpecially as this computation by the ſucceſſion of kings is in perfect agreement with the reigns of the ſeveral kings recorded in the beſt-atteſted hiſtories.

BOOK II.

SECTION I.

BOOK III. Sect. 1.

HITHERTO we have been making our way through the miſt of fables: we ſhall now ſee the gloom diſſipate gradually, and the purer light of hiſtory beam down upon us. However, the period that immediately ſucceeded the Trojan war affords few events deſerving of notice. Greece was weakened by that fatal expedition, which had conſumed her brave men, and deprived her of many of her ableſt princes: violent factions prevailed in ſeveral of her ſtates; in others new ſovereigns had eſtabliſhed themſelves; and they who had taken advantage of the public calamity to uſurp ſovereign power, ſought rather to ſecure their own acquiſitions, than to attempt any thing great

great or excellent. Such was Greece for more than one generation after the return from Troy. And even in later times, when ſhe had in a manner recovered from thoſe deep wounds, little is there to be met with worth reciting, as long ſhe remained divided into ſo many petty ſovereignties, and liable to the frequent wars and revolutions, which the intereſts and jealouſies, and perhaps the crimes, of ſuch a number of princes cloſely bordering on each other muſt naturally produce. But when once thoſe petty ſovereignties were reſolved into larger and well-modelled ſtates, and the nations of Greece, inſtead of an eſtabliſhment which the cruelties and oppreſſive rule of their kings had rendered odious, began to enjoy the bleſſings of free government and equal laws, then alſo did they begin to riſe to fame, and to diſpute for empire with the mightieſt and moſt formidable people of the earth.

But before we proceed, it will be of moment to take a review of Greece in general, and to point out the ſituation and extent of thoſe kingdoms of which antient writers make mention. We will ſuppoſe the reader to have before him the Map of Greece prefixed to this work, and ſhall begin our ſurvey by Peloponnesus, the moſt ſouthern part of Greece.

It is a peninſula, joined to the main land only by the Corinthian iſthmus; and on this account it has been by ſome authors conſidered as a country diſtinct from Greece Proper. Its eaſtern coaſt is waſhed by the Ægean ſea, its weſtern by the Ionian; on the ſouth, is that part of the Mediterranean called the ſea of Crete; to the north, it has the Saronic bay on one ſide of the iſthmus, and the bay of Criſſa on the other. It is evident it derived its antient name of Peloponneſus, *Pelops' iſland*, from the prince who reigned here, he and

BOOK II. Sect. I.

his poſterity, with ſo much ſplendor: its fancied reſemblance to a mulberry leaf is ſaid to have given occaſion to the Greeks of the Lower Empire to diſtinguiſh it by its preſent appellation of Morea.

In the ſouth-eaſt angle of this celebrated peninſula lies the Spartan kingdom. Its two promontories, of Malea and Tænarus, ſituate on the Mediterranean, form between them the large Laconic gulph, into which the river Eurotas diſcharges itſelf. At the mouth of the Eurotas were two ſea-ports of ſome note, Acria and Trinaſus, near which laſt ſtands Gythium, which in later times became likewiſe a port of conſiderable figure. On the eaſt and north-eaſt runs the Argolic bay, and to the weſt the bay of Meſſenia. It is obvious to remark therefore, that if the civil conſtitution of the Lacedæmonians had permitted them, they enjoyed many opportunities of cultivating a maritime power, as they lay open to the ſea on every ſide, excepting that ſmall part to the north where they had the kingdoms of Arcadia and Argos for their limits, and that ſhort line to the weſt where they were bounded by the Meſſenian territories, of which likewiſe they at length became poſſeſſed.

Sparta, or Lacedæmon, the capital of this kingdom, lay on the river Eurotas, about thirty miles from the mouth of it. It was a plain-built, unwalled city, without either ornament or ſtrength, except what it received from the virtue and bravery of its inhabitants. Neither was the country around it much embelliſhed with towns, though there were ſome places of convenient ſituation, as Epidaurus Limera on the gulph of Argos, Leuctrum on the Meſſenian bay, and other hamlets, all in a ſtate of little improvement. The troubled condition of Peloponneſus, in the earlier days of Greece, prevented the advancement of culture:

and

and after the laws of Lycurgus were eſtabliſhed, the minds of the Lacedæmonians were drawn off from all ſplendid and expenſive arts. We muſt not however overlook Amyclæ not far from the foot of mount Taygetus, which, the poets tell us, was the birth-place of Caſtor and Pollux; nor Tænarus, a city built on the promontory of that name, famous for its cave, through which Hercules was fabled to have gone down into hell. Eaſt of the Eurotas was Helos, the city of the ill-fated Helotæ, a flouriſhing city once, till deſtroyed by the Spartans, as we ſhall relate in its proper place.—After the death of Menelaus, the kingdom of Sparta fell to Oreſtes, by his marriage with Hermione; and in the ſpace of ſome few years, it came into the poſſeſſion of the princes of the houſe of Hercules. The ſame Oreſtes, in right of his father Agamemnon, held alſo the kingdom of Mycenæ.

On the N. E. ſide of Peloponneſus, and running to a point towards the eaſt between the Saronic bay and that of Argos, having Arcadia for its weſtern boundary, is a tract which in the days of Agamemnon was called the kingdom of Mycenæ, that city having been raiſed to a high degree of ſplendor by the princes of the Pelopian race: but when theſe loſt the ſovereignty of Peloponneſus, Mycenæ was reduced, and the city of Argos gave its name to this part of the peninſula. Diomedes reigned over the Argives at the time of the Trojan war: after he was retired into Italy, Oreſtes became their ſovereign. The city itſelf was called Argos Hippium from its excellent breed of horſes, a name that ſerved to diſtinguiſh it from another Argos termed Amphilochium, a city of Acarnania. The goddeſs Juno claimed the peculiar patronage of Argos, where ſhe had a temple of great renown: her prieſteſs was always a ma-

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

tron of the firſt quality, and ſo highly did they deem of her office, that the Argives numbered their years from her prieſthood, as the Athenians from their Archons.

NEMEA, a village in this neighbourhood, gave name to the celebrated games, inſtituted in memory of Hercules having ſlain a lion that infeſted thoſe parts. Pauſanias tells us, that even in his days the inhabitants ſhewed a den which they called the *lion's den*, and pretended it was there that dreadful monſter dwelt. The fens of Lerna, in the ſame diſtrict, were the ſcene of another exploit of Hercules, the deſtruction of the famed Hydra, which made this place its retreat. That little nook, where Trœzene is marked, was the extent of the dominions of Pittheus, grandfather to Theſeus; whence a judgment may be formed, how inconſiderable were many of the Grecian principalities in thoſe early ages. Epidaurus, on the bay of Saron, was the city where the pretended god of phyſic had his ſolemn rites: his temple was filled with votaries from all parts; and Pauſanias tells us, there were in it no leſs than ſix pillars, on which were inſcribed the names of thoſe who had been recovered by his wonderous influence. The flight of Æſculapius from his proper habitation is well known on the authority of Livy. When the Romans had conquered Greece, the god forſook Epidaurus, and *wiſely* removed to the ſeat of wealth and empire: the multitude was made to believe, that he was ſeen, in the form of a ſerpent, going on board the veſſel which was to convey him to Rome.

THE government of Argos underwent many alterations. Phoroneus, its firſt founder, reigned there, from whom it was called Phoronicum, a name in proceſs of time exchanged for Argos, from one of the ſucceeding kings. But how far the dominions

minions of theſe antient princes extended, or what power they were inveſted with, it is ſcarcely poſſible, nor indeed is it very material to determine. It may be ſufficient to obſerve, that in three or four generations after the return of the Heraclidæ, it was divided into ſeveral principalities, and ſo continued until the days of Phidon, who re-united them all into one kingdom, and greatly oppreſſed this part of Greece. When he was dead, each city aſſumed its own particular government; and we find that Argos, Mycenæ, Trœzen, Sicyon, engaged in alliances, and made peace and war, independently of each other. This was the cauſe of the total deſtruction of Mycenæ; for the Mycæneans having aſſiſted the Lacedæmonians at the time of the Perſian war, the Argives took up arms againſt them and overthrew their city. As for the government of Argos, it ſuffered frequent revolutions, ſometimes an ariſtocracy, and ſometimes the popular party prevailing. Trœzen became a commonwealth. Sicyon for ſome time had a prince of its own; but at length it received likewiſe the form of a republic.

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

In the earlier times of Greece, Sicyon had been a diſtinct kingdom, of great repute: the fabulous antiquity which they aſcribe to it proves it flouriſhed among the firſt Grecian cities; and certain it is, that it hadthe honour of giving the name of Apia to Peloponneſus, from Apis, a king that reigned here. But whatever it had been, it appears to have declined greatly before the Trojan expedition. Homer tells us, that its inhabitants ſerved at the ſiege of Troy, as part of Agamemnon's forces; and it is beyond a queſtion, that, ſoon after, it was incorporated with the kingdom of Argos. However, in ſucceeding ages, it encreaſed again in wealth and ſplendor. Cliſthenes, who was prince of Sicyon in the days of Solon,

was

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

was one of the richeſt princes of Greece. Strabo obſerves, that artificers in every kind of work were to be found here: and ſeveral other authors ſpeak of it in like manner, as of a city abounding in all delicate and luxurious arts.

CORINTH, which lies to the north-eaſt of Sicyon, does not ſeem to have been a part of Agamemnon's kingdom, but rather to have been tributary to him, as it appears from antient hiſtorians, that in the war of Troy they had princes of their own: or perhaps thoſe were mercenary troops which they furniſhed; for the territories of Corinth were very inconſiderable in extent, and of a coarſe and barren ſoil; and the people had not any wealth, but what they acquired by their intercourſe with their neighbours. The poſition of this city, built on the ſouthern extremity of the Iſthmus or narrow neck of land that divides the Ægean ſea from the Ionian, was favourable in an eminent degree to commerce; but during the infancy of navigation among the Grecians, the principal advantage the Corinthians enjoyed was, that all the trade between Peloponneſus and the reſt of Greece was carried on through their territories. But when the Grecian commerce began to extend itſelf from ſea to ſea, then indeed Corinth roſe in proportion, and availed herſelf of all the benefits which her ſituation offered to her. To the weſt, the port of Lecheum on the bay of Criſſa received the ſhipping from Spain, Italy, and the adjacent countries; and to the eaſt, Cenchreum on the Saronic gulph lay open to all the numerous fleets from the Grecian iſlands, from Egypt, and the coaſts of Aſia: ſo that Corinth, as it were, united the eaſtern and weſtern worlds together. This extenſive commerce ſoon rendered them, from a mean and inconſiderable people, one of the moſt flouriſhing of the Grecian ſtates. They were the firſt that

that improved the maritime power of Greece by building large ſhips with three banks of oars, and that ventured to engage in naval combat. Their power became formidable, and their alliance was courted by all around them. And as to thoſe ingenious works which luxury delights in, it is acknowledged that Corinth could vie with the moſt ſumptuous cities of the earth. Noble edifices, maſterly paintings, exquiſite ſculptures, and all the choiceſt embelliſhments of art, were found here in great profuſion; and to their inventive genius alſo do we owe the richeſt order of architecture we now have. Their colonies moreover eſtabliſhed themſelves in divers parts, and grew up into great and powerful ſtates: Syracuſe, one of the moſt famed cities of the weſtern world, was built by them; and the Corcyreans were of Corinthian extraction, though they afterwards engaged in war againſt their founders. In a word, Corinth was the glory of Peloponneſus, ſo confeſſedly, that the Romans thought it a ſufficient chaſtiſement to all the nations of theſe parts, to have laid this proud city in ruins.

THE tutelary deity of the Corinthians was Neptune; which is a proof, that in thoſe ages of idolatry, nations made choice of their gods according to their occupation and the natural advantages they enjoyed. The Corinthians were a maritime, trading people; and therefore their guardian god was *the monarch of the hoary deep*. His temple was magnificent; and in honour of him were the Iſthmian games celebrated, ſo conſpicuous in Grecian ſtory. They conſiſted of exerciſes which were nearly the ſame at all the public games of Greece, running, wreſtling, leaping, chariot-racing, pitching the diſc, throwing the javelin. It is likely, thoſe at the Iſthmus had been inſtituted in honour of the firſt inventors of navigation; and at the ſame time,

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

time, to form their young men to agility and ſtrength of body, an excellent inſtitution for a ſtate like Corinth. Theſe games were held at the end of four years complete, with great celebrity and pomp. And it is remarkable, that the reward the victors received was no more than a garland of pine-leaves: ſuch a noble ſenſibility of glory were the Grecians endowed with!

MIDWAY the Iſthmus, is a place marked Schœnus, where the Iſthmus ran narroweſt. It was the cuſtom to bring ſhips over this tract, from the Saronic into the Criſſean gulph. Hiſtorians tell us, that ſeveral princes attempted to cut through the Corinthian Iſthmus; and they pretend to have obſerved, that as many as attempted it died a violent death. In the Saronic gulph are ſeveral iſlands, two eſpecially of great name, Ægina and Salamis: the firſt the kingdom of Æacus father to Peleus, a prince renowned for his piety and juſtice; the ſecond the country of the brave Telamon, father to Teucer and Ajax. We ſhall have occaſion to mention both theſe iſlands, when we come to the affairs of Attica. Several other iſlands alſo there are off the coaſts of Laconia and Argolis, ſome of which are numbered among the Sporades: but they preſent nothing worthy of notice.

Plin. 4. c. 4.

ACHAIA, to the ſouth-weſt of Corinth, is the next diviſion of Peloponneſus. It is bounded on the north by the bay of Criſſa, to the eaſt by Sicyon, to the ſouth by the kingdoms of Arcadia and Elis, and to the weſt by the Ionian ſea. This territory alſo appears to have been a part of Agamemnon's empire; for Homer marſhals the inhabitants of Egium, of Helice, of Gonoeſſa, and ſome other neighbouring cities, among the forces of this prince at the ſiege of Troy. The name Achaia was of old common to all Greece, whoſe inhabitants in general are by antient writers called

Achæans,

Achæans, Αχαιοι, though properly none were ſuch but thoſe who dwelt on the eaſt ſide of Peloponneſus. The appellation is ſaid to have come from Achæus, ſon to Xuthus, and great-grandſon of Deucalion, who paſſing on ſouthward ſeated himſelf about the parts of Laconia. For the diſtrict we have now before us was not called at the firſt Achaia, but Ægialea, from Ægialeus the founder of Sicyon, which name remained to it in Homer's days. It was alſo entitled Ionia for a conſiderable time, and the people Ægialean Ionians, to diſtinguiſh them from the Ionians of Attica. On the reſtoration of the Heraclidæ, it received the name of Achaia from the inhabitants of Argos and Laconia, who fled before the Dorians and the deſcendants of Hercules, and made room for themſelves in this country by the expulſion of the antient poſſeſſors. It is ſaid that Tiſamenes, ſon to Oreſtes, reigned over them in this new ſettlement; but be that as it may, it appears that the Achæans ſoon changed their form of government. The care of the public good, according to Pauſanias, was entruſted to ſeven perſons: and probably this was the foundation of thoſe famed Achæan ſtates, which made ſuch a glorious ſtand for liberty in the latter days of Greece.

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

SOUTH-EAST of Achaia, in the heart of Peloponneſus, is Arcadia, having Elis on the weſt, Argolis on the eaſt, to the north Achaia and Sicyon, Laconia and Meſſenia to the ſouth. Antient authors are of opinion, that this is the part of Greece that was firſt inhabited: and indeed the beauty of the ſituation, and the advantages of the ſoil, might well juſtify the conjecture. It was removed from the ſea-ſhore, which in the earlier ages was much expoſed to the violence of new adventurers: the whole country was divided into pleaſant vales and fruitful hills, the faireſt paſturages

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

rages were found here, and on every ſide aroſe the green landſcape. Accordingly, this was the abode by the poets of old aſſigned to all the rural deities. Over the Arcadian Mænalus Diana and her train of nymphs were wont to range: and here it was that Pan, the ſhepherd-god, and every genius of the foreſt and dale, choſe to dwell. The occupation of the inhabitants alſo ſeemed to agree with the poet's fiction: they were a nation of ſhepherds; their manners had all the innocence and ſimplicity of paſtoral life, and nothing was to be heard around but bleating flocks and ruſtic ſong. However, in martial ſpirit they were not inferior to any Grecian people. The frequent incurſions to which they became liable, as Greece filled with inhabitants, on account of the number of their cattle and the richneſs of their ſoil, obliged them to cultivate the arts of war as well as thoſe of rural induſtry; and we ſhall find them make a conſiderable figure in the military affairs of Greece. They alſo in time got poſſeſſion of a maritime trade; Pompus, one of their kings, having opened a way to Cyllene a port on the Ionian ſea, and concluded a treaty of commerce with thoſe of Ægina. Yet Arcadia itſelf was entirely an inland country; and we learn from Homer, that Agamemnon ſupplied them with ſhips to ſail to Troy. Their leader in that expedition was Agapenor, who, as we have already mentioned, never ſaw Arcadia more. Hippothous, a prince of another line, aſcended the Arcadian throne; after whom reigned a long ſeries of kings: for it is remarkable, than the regal power maintained itſelf longer in Arcadia that in moſt parts of Greece, probably becauſe the people had limited its extent, and the prince could undertake nothing of moment without the conſent of his ſubjects. This preſerved them from thoſe violent convulſions, by which other monarchical governments were

were rent asunder. And historians tell us, that the Arcadians did not even scruple to bring their kings to justice, when they disgraced the regal majesty. There are upon record two signal instances to this purpose: the one of Aristocrates, whom his subjects stoned to death for having offered violence to a young virgin, priestess to Diana Hymnia, at the very altar of the goddess; and the other of his grandson, named likewise Aristocrates, who having basely betrayed his allies the Messenians to the Spartan power, was for his breach of faith deservedly put to death by the virtuous Arcadians.

POETIC fiction has been exercised on almost every spot of Arcadia. Here was the lake Stymphalus, where Hercules destroyed the monsters Stymphalides; here also Nonacris, Erymanthus, Pholoe, every one of them the theme of bards of old. Nor are we to be surprised that the river Styx, which the poets have numbered among the rivers of hell, is to be met with in this country, since by the testimony of Pausanias the waters of the Styx carry so virulent a poison, that no creature can taste them and live; and a learned modern who had visited those parts informs us, that the whole river is of a hideous hue; a thick livid scum dwells on its surface, and whenever the water bubbles, it is like the boiling up of pitch or bitumen; no fish is to be found in the deadly stream; the vapour that rises from it kills every tree and every verdure it reaches to, and even the brute creatures shun its infected banks. Towns of Arcadia deserving of notice are Tegea, famous for the victory of the Arcadians over Charilaus king of Sparta, when the proud Spartans were bound with the chains they had brought for the Tegeans, and Mantinea, where was fought that memorable battle between Thebes and Sparta in which

Abbé Tourmont. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. T. 4.

BOOK II. Sect. 1. which fell the excellent Epaminondas. Megalopolis, a city to the north of Mantinea, was not built till the later ages of Greece: Epaminondas was its founder.

ELIS is next to Arcadia, which limits it on the east. To the west is the Ionian sea, to the north Achaia, to the south Messenia and the bay of Cyparissus. The glory of this territory were the Olympic games, celebrated on the plains adjoining to the city Olympia, not far from the river Alpheus. They were instituted in honour of Jupiter, who had a superb temple at Olympia, adorned with an ivory statue of the god, fifty cubits high, the work of Phidias, and counted among the wonders of the pagan world. It is said, the sculptor took his idea of *the father of the gods and men* from those divine lines of Homer in which he appears in such awful pomp:

This said, his kingly brow the Sire inclined;
The large, black curls fell awful from behind,
Thick shadowing the stern forehead of the god:
Olympus trembled at the almighty nod. Il. I. 528.

TICKEL.

Strabo observes, that the god, though seated on his throne, reached with his head the vaulted roof; so that, had he but raised himself up, the temple could not have contained him.

THE games here were solemnized after four years complete, whence arose the calculation by Olympiads; and the time of their celebration was the full of the moon whose change immediately preceded the summer solstice. The priests of the Olympic temple had the care of regulating the form of the year, and observing every new moon, particularly of that moon in whose course the games

games were to be: they were alſo to regiſter the names of all the victors, and to record every material circumſtance that happened within each Olympiad. It was eſteemed the ſummit of glory and felicity to be crowned at this ſolemnity: ſovereign princes thought it an object worthy of their ambition. Hiero of Syracuſe, one of the greateſt princes of his days, courted the honour: and even Philip of Macedon, though real encreaſe of empire ſeemed to be his chief concern, numbered it among the moſt fortunate events of his life, that he obtained this boaſted prize. Yet the prize itſelf was of no greater intrinſic value than that at the Iſthmian games, being originally nothing more than a crown compoſed of olive branches. It was a tradition of the pagans, that Hercules had appointed it thus in order to teach men, that the great reward they ſhould contend for is *the praiſe of doing well.* The Idæan Hercules, as we have obſerved before, was moſt probably the firſt inſtitutor of the Olympic games: but as they were frequently intermitted, and again at different periods reſtored and improved, therefore is the foundation of them aſcribed to different perſons. It is however certain, they were not celebrated regularly till the days of Iphitus king of Elis, about 776 years before Chriſt, which prince reſtored theſe games by the advice of the oracle, as the ſure means of averting the anger of the gods (for Peloponneſus was then in an afflicted ſtate) and of advancing the proſperity of his country. The oracle did not deceive him. The Olympic games made Elis flouriſh: and ſo highly were they accounted of throughout Greece, that by the general conſent of the Grecian ſtates it was reſolved, that the Eleans ſhould enjoy their poſſeſſions without moleſtation or fear of war, in conſideration of the part they bore in theſe ſolemnities, a part ſo much

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

much coveted by their neighbours the Piſans, that it proved a bone of contention between the two ſtates for many years, till at length the Eleans obtained a complete victory, and raſed the city of Piſa. It does not appear from antient writers, that Elis was a part of Agamemnon's dominions. According to Homer, the Eleans ſailed for Troy under the command of four leaders, each preſiding over a ſquadron of ten ſhips. It may from hence be conjectured, that they were at this time cantoned into diſtinct principalities: and this ſeems to be confirmed by the war between the Piſans and thoſe of Elis.

NEXT to Elis lies Triphylia, the capital of which ſmall kingdom was Pylus, at ſome diſtance from the ſea, towards the confines of Arcadia. Here reigned the wiſe Neſtor, one of the few princes that returned from the fatal ſiege of Troy. His dominions extended on either ſide of the river Alpheus: but it appears evidently from Homer and Strabo, that Meſſenia was not ſubject to him. Probably indeed his poſterity might take advantage of the many calamities that diſtracted the houſe of Agamemnon after the return from Troy, and poſſeſs themſelves of part of the Meſſenian territory: and therefore do we find the family of Neſtor ſettled here, when the Heraclidæ invaded Peloponneſus. But nevertheleſs the Pylus, which Homer ſpeaks of as Neſtor's royal ſeat, is certainly this which borders on Arcadia. Some confuſion would naturally ariſe from there being three cities of the name, which geographers now diſtinguiſh, according to their ſituation, into Pylus Eliaca, of the Eleans—Triphyliaca, the city of Neſtor—and Pylus Meſſeniaca, in the Meſſenian kingdom. In the days of Neſtor the inhabitants of Triphylia appear to have been a brave, martial people: before their expedition to Troy, they had engaged in

war

war againſt Hercules, though with ill ſucceſs; and Homer makes mention of a ſignal victory obtained by them over their neighbour Augeas king of Elis. A taſte for poetry ſeems alſo to have been early among them, as we find recorded the name of Thamyris, a poet that came from Thrace into theſe parts, whoſe exalted genius, Homer tells us, proved fatal to him. The Muſes, envious of the excellence of his ſtrains, deprived him of his ſight. Whatever may be the truth concealed under this fiction, it is eaſy to judge from the manner of relating the misfortune of the unhappy Thamyris, how high was the fame of the antient bard.

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

Il. II. 595.

SOUTH of Triphylia, in the S. W. extremity of Peloponneſus, is the kingdom of Meſſenia. On the eaſt of it are Laconia and the Meſſenian bay; its ſouthern coaſt is waſhed by the Mediterranean, its weſtern by the Ionian ſea; and toward the north it extended as far as the city of Cypariſſia. This country, beſides the advantages of a maritime ſituation, enjoyed the bleſſings of a ſoft climate and fruitful ſoil; ſo that, in its days of liberty, it might juſtly be accounted one of the happieſt ſpots in Peloponneſus. In the inland parts was Meſſena, the principal city, remarkable for the ſtrength of its citadel built on the top of Ithome, a very high mountain, which commanded the ſouthern tract of Peloponneſus, as Acrocorinthus, the mountain on which ſtood the citadel of Corinth, commanded the northern. It was the obſervation of Demetrius Phalereus, that Peloponneſus might be compared to a bull, and theſe two mountains to its horns, which if a man could once hold firm, the whole peninſula muſt ſubmit to him. The name of the country, however, preceded that of its capital Meſſena, which was not built till later ages. That it owned the power of the houſe of Pelops is undeniable, ſince Agamemnon in Homer offers

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

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BOOK II. Sect. 1.

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BOOK II. Sect. 1. offers ſeven of the cities of Meſſenia, with the faireſt of his daughters, to Achilles, as the price of his return to the Grecian army: whence the country muſt either have belonged to him, or to his brother Menelaus. Indeed moſt authors are of opinion, that in thoſe days it made part of the kingdom of Sparta. So that all Peloponneſus, with the exception of Elis and Triphylia, was either ſubject to the Pelopian family, or tributary to them; and even theſe two diſtricts could not but reſpect a power, with which they were ſo little able to contend. Oreſtes, as we have ſeen, obtained poſſeſſion of the thrones of Mycenæ and Sparta: but probably Agamemnon's domeſtic troubles, and the uſurpation of Ægiſthus, had contributed to weaken the empire of Mycenæ; for the kingdoms of Arcadia, of Achaia, and Corinth appear at this time to have thrown off the yoke of dependency. Oreſtes, after a long reign, was ſucceeded by his ſon Tiſamenes, in whoſe days happened the memorable return of the Heraclidæ, related in a former ſection, which gave an entire change to the affairs of Peloponneſus, and put an end to the glory of the houſe of Pelops.

IF we paſs now to the other ſide of the Iſthmus, the country that firſt demands our notice is Attica. It is bounded to the weſt by Bœotia, to the north by the Euripus or Eubœan ſtreights, to the eaſt by the Ægean ſea, and to the ſouth by the gulph of Saron. Its whole extent from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt did not much exceed ſixty miles, and in the oppoſite direction it was about fifty ſix; and even this ſcanty portion of territory was, for the greater part, a rough and rugged ſoil. Such was the native reſidence of a people foremoſt among all the nations of the earth, diſtinguiſhed both in arts and arms, and by the glory of their exploits, and the excellence

excellence of their improvements, juſtly to be accounted the boaſt of the pagan world! BOOK II.

WE have already given a ſketch of the early hiſtory of Athens. Meneſtheus, who led the Athenians to Troy, died on his return from that war; and Demophoon, ſon to Theſeus, was reſtored to the throne of his fathers. After him reigned his ſon Oxyntes, and after Oxyntes, Aphydas. Theſe reigns afford little worth reciting, except the eſtabliſhment of a court for the particular cogniſance of murder, called the court of the Ephetæ, the inſtitution of which is generally aſcribed to Demophoon. Aphydas was murdered by Thymœtes, natural ſon to Oxyntes, who uſurped the throne, but did not long enjoy the fruits of his villainy. Xanthus king of Bœotia had a conteſt with the Athenians about one of their frontier towns, and offered to decide the matter with Thymœtes by ſingle combat: this the uſurper, who had not virtue enough to be truly brave, declined. It happened that Melanthus, a noble Meſſenian who had fled from before the Heraclidæ, was then at Athens, and having offered himſelf as champion on the part of Athens, he killed Xanthus. The Athenians depoſed their daſtardly king, to beſtow the ſovereignty on the ſtranger. To the good fortune of their countryman Melanthus, who is ſuppoſed to have been of the royal houſe of Neſtor, were the Neſtoridæ and Meſſenians indebted for the kind reception they met with in Attica, after they had been forced out of Peloponneſus by the Heraclidæ. Sect. 1.

MELANTHUS was ſucceeded by his ſon Codrus, with whom ended the title and ſucceſſion of kings at Athens. The occaſion is extremely remarkable. The Heraclidæ and Dorians, who had now ſtrengthened themſelves in Peloponneſus, were preparing to extend their power into Attica, and had

BOOK II. Sect. 1. had already taken Megara, a city tributary to the Athenians. The oracle had promiſed them ſucceſs, provided they did not kill the Athenian king. Whoever was the inſpirer of this oracle, Codrus took a noble advantage of it: he introduced himſelf in diſguiſe into the enemy's camp, and provoked a fray in which he loſt his life. The ſuperſtition of the times made this deciſive; ſo that the Dorians, finding they had ſlain the king, retired from the Attic territories. Admiration at the exploit of Codrus moved the Athenians to reſolve, that no perſon ſhould bear the regal title after him: they changed the name of King therefore into that of Archon, which office was at firſt for life, but afterwards was limited to ten years, and at laſt to one only. So ſingular was the fate of the Athenian people! Other ſtates changed their form of government on account of the crimes and tyranny of their princes: the Athenians altered theirs out of a grateful veneration to the memory of this great king. But beſides the cauſe aſſigned for it by antient writers, the revolution was probably haſtened by that love of liberty of which the Athenians had earlier notions than any other people of Greece. We have obſerved already, that the privileges of the people were conſiderably enlarged in the days of Theſeus: from that time the kings appear to have had a very contracted power, being indeed little more than generals for life. The ſame ſprit continued at Athens in its greateſt vigour for many generations. And had it only animated them to the aſſertion and defence of freedom, it had been their ſecurity and happineſs. But unfortunately it degenerated at length into a ſpirit of diſcord and contention: each individual of the people endeavoured to make a ſhew of his own importance, and to become a chief ruler; and the beſt and ableſt ſervants of the ſtate were ſacrificed

ficed to popular jealouſy. Of this evil, too frequent in *democracies*, we ſhall ſee many inſtances in the courſe of the Athenian hiſtory. But to return to our ſurvey. BOOK II. Sect. 1.

TOWARDS the Corinthian Iſthmus is Megara, the city we have juſt mentioned as having fallen under the power of the Dores. It had long been a part of the Athenian dominions: but from this time an irreconcilable hatred ſubſiſted between thoſe of Attica and the Megareans. The territories of the latter were extremely confined: they were hemmed in by the Corinthians, the Bœotians, and the Athenians, and poſſeſſed only a ſmall portion of the ſea-coaſt where the port of Niſea was. Their ſituation alſo expoſed them to frequent wars; for whenever the neighbouring ſtates attacked each other, the Megareans were obliged to take part in the quarrel: and indeed, whenever the Athenians were concerned, their natural jealouſy of Athens generally led them to engage againſt her.

ON the Saronic gulph Athens ſtands, that city which was deſtined to raiſe the glory of Greece to its higheſt degree of ſplendor. Its port, called the Pirean, was joined to the city by walls, though diſtant from it upwards of five miles. Three harbours had nature formed in this capacious port; and as the naval power of the Athenians encreaſed, art added every thing that might ſtrengthen and adorn it: ſo that for the greatneſs of its works, the magnificence of its buildings, the multitude of ſeamen and artificers that were here conſtantly employed, the variety of wares imported, and the frequency of merchants flowing in to it from all parts of the world, it might juſtly be eſteemed not leſs worthy of admiration than the city of Athens itſelf. Before the improvement of the Pireum, Phalerum

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

Phalerum was the only harbour the Athenians were poſſeſſed of, a ſtation narrow and inconvenient.

SOMEWHAT farther up the bay of Saron is Eleuſis, whence the Eleuſinian rites had their name. Here, it was fabled, Ceres landed; and to this place did the ſacred proceſſion march from Athens, when the myſtical feaſts were celebrated.—Acharnæ, in the inland parts, was one of the Attic *demoi*, or hamlets: for in this manner, as we have related, was Attica inhabited in early days, till Theſeus incorporated all the diſperſed villagers into one city; and hence were the Athenian families, in all public acts, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *hamlet* to which they originally belonged.—Hymettus and Pentelicus are two mountains, both celebrated for their marble quarries; and the firſt ſtill more renowned for its honey, and the fragrance of the aromatic herbs it abounded in.—Towards the northern coaſt lies Marathon, exalted to fame by the virtue of the Athenian people, which on that ſpot triumphed over the power of Perſia.--And nearer to the ſea is the village of Rhamnus, where ſtood a remarkable ſtatue of Nemeſis, the goddeſs of vengeance: it was the work of Phidias, and was dedicated by the Athenians in memory of their deliverance at Marathon. It is ſaid, that the block of marble out of which it was made was brought hither by the Perſians, to be erected as a monument of their expected victory.—To the eaſt are Phyle and Decelea, two forts of ſmall account in themſelves, but rendered conſiderable by the exploits to which they were witneſſes.—At Laurium, not far from Decelea, were the ſilver mines of Attica.—And within ſome few miles of Laureum was the promontory of Sunium, eſteemed by geographers the extreme eaſtern point of Greece.—Off Sunium is a ſmall iſland bearing the name

name of Helena, becauſe it was the place to which Paris conducted the ill-fated Helen, when he ſailed from the Spartan coaſt. BOOK II. Sect. 1.

THE other iſlands which appear at ſome diſtance in the Ægean ſea, are the Cyclades, ſo called from their lying in a circle, or rather in a ſemicircle, around Delos. The name at firſt was given to twelve only of thoſe iſlands: but in ſucceeding times ſome others were compriſed under the ſame title. The moſt remarkable of theſe were Andros, Ceos, Cythnus, Siphnus, Tenos, Paros, Naxos, Syros, Melos, and Delos: all theſe were fertile, pleaſant iſlands, of rich ſoil, and well attempered climate. Ceos particularly boaſted its fair paſtures and excellent fruits; ſo that, as the poets ſing, Ariſteus the great improver of rural arts paſſed over from Bœotia, and fixed his abode here. This was alſo the native country of the two Simonides, the elder of whom was the inventor of funeral verſe, whence a mournful lay has obtained the appellation of *Cœa Nænia*, a Cean dirge. Pliny tells us, that this iſland was at length dreadfully torn by an earthquake, and a great part of it buried in the deep.—Paros was famed for its marble, which, we are told, was of exquiſite whiteneſs, and ſuſceptible of the fineſt poliſh.—Tenos was happy in the number of its fine ſprings, whence it was called Hydruſſa, the iſland of waters.—Naxos was celebrated on account of its delicious wines; and therefore was it feigned to be dear to Bacchus, and ſuppoſed to be honoured with his immediate preſence.—But the moſt renowned of all the Cyclades was Delos, ſaid to be the birth place of Apollo and Diana, becauſe probably this was the place in which the Egyptian ſages firſt eſtabliſhed the worſhip of thoſe deities. Their rites were ſolemnized here with much religion and magnificence by all the nations around, and the whole iſland

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

island was esteemed sacred to them, being on this account revered even by hostile barbarians as the dwelling of the gods: here also the common treasure of Greece was for many years laid up, as in a depository holy and not to be violated. After the destruction of Corinth by the Romans, the situation of this island drew to it a great part of the Corinthian trade, and it became as eminent for its commerce as it had been for its superstitions.—The other Cyclades are scarcely worth notice. Rhene was remarkable for little more, than its being the burial place of the Delians; for it was esteemed a profanation to bury in Delos. Seriphus, Prepesinthus, Olearus, Cimolus, Gyarus, were small barren islands, whose inhabitants made a very inconsiderable figure in history. Accordingly, the answer of Themistocles was apposite to a man of Seriphus, who told him, that the honours the Spartans had paid him after the victory at Salamis were meant not to him, but to his country: 'True,' replied Themistocles, 'for certainly I should not 'have been honoured thus, had I been a Seri-'phian; but neither would you, though you had 'been of Athens.' And Gyarus, it is well known, was so rough and inhospitable, that the Romans frequently sent their criminals to spend the remainder of their days in this place of wretchedness.—There are many more islands both to the east and to the south of these; but they either belong to Asia, or are to be numbered among the Sporades, of which we have already made mention.

FEW of these islands were able for any considerable time to retain their independence, excepting Melos, which, according to Thucydides, enjoyed its liberties for 700 years before the Peloponnesian war. Most of the others fell under subjection to the state that was possessed of the greatest maritime power.

power. They were firſt peopled, as it is ſuppoſed, by adventurers from Egypt, from Caria, and Phœnicia: and afterwards Minos, having acquired a numerous fleet, ſubdued many of them. Agamemnon was the next Grecian prince, that was formidable at ſea; and accordingly he alſo reigned over them. But the royal houſe of Mycenæ being weakened by diſtractions, and ſome years after, the Heraclidæ entering Peloponneſus, the dominion of the ſea paſſed to the Aſiatic nations or to the Greeks of Aſia Minor; and ſo it was when the Perſians invaded Greece, moſt of the iſlands confederating with thoſe of Aſia The victory at Salamis brought on another revolution: the Athenians claimed the empire of the ſea, and the iſlands were forced to ſubmit to the arms of that brave people. Indeed the Athenians ſeem, from their very ſituation, to have enjoyed many opportunities of improving their naval ſtrength, Attica being ſurrounded by the ſea on every ſide, except to the weſt and north-weſt, where it was bounded by the Bœotian and Megarean territories. Accordingly Strabo takes notice, that the name of this country was originally *Actica*, from *Actè*, the ſea-ſhore.

NORTH-WEST of Attica is Bœotia. It extended from the Attic borders to Phocis, and was bounded to the north by the Euripus, and to the ſouth by the gulph of Corinth. The firſt city that meets our obſervation is Plateæ, rendered illuſtrious by the undaunted bravery of its people, and their inviolate faith to Athens. Together with thoſe of Theſpiæ, a city ſomewhat more to the weſt, they ſtood forth in oppoſition to all the reſt of Bœotia, and at utmoſt hazard refuſed to betray the liberties of their country, when the Perſians invaded Greece. From that time, the ſtricteſt amity ſubſiſted betwen them and the inhabitants of Attica. And ſo dear did the Plateans hold this friendſhip, that

BOOK II. Sect. 1. that afterwards, when Greece was harraſſed by domeſtic war, and a powerful confederacy was formed againſt the Athenians, theſe generous allies choſe rather to meet their own ruin, than to renounce their connection with the Athenian people.—North of Plateæ, on the river Iſmenus, is Thebes, the capital city of the Bœotians, of which poetic ſtory records ſuch wonderous things; whoſe inhabitants ſprung from a ſerpent's teeth, and whoſe walls roſe up as Amphion touched his lyre. Here Semele had her birth; and here reigned Laius, and his ill-fated progeny. But after the days of fiction were paſſed, the Theban name ſeems to have ſunk into obſcurity 'till the time of Epaminondas, whoſe virtues and ſignal exploits advanced his country to high honour, and gave her a place among the moſt illuſtrious of the ſtates of Greece, notwithſtanding the imputation of dulneſs under which Bœotia had the misfortune to labour, ſo as to become the jeſt of the wits of old. The air of this diſtrict happened to be thick and groſs, occaſioned probably by the moraſſes in which the lower parts abounded: and this, together with the unlucky circumſtance of a near neighbourhood to Athens, the firſt city in the world for genius and arts, expoſed the poor Bœotians to much raillery. However, in after ages this reproach was in ſome meaſure taken off; for Bœotia had the honour of producing one of the greateſt poets Greece ever ſaw, the famed Pindar, and two generals and ſtateſmen, as much diſtinguiſhed by the ſuperiority of their abilities as by the integrity of their manners, Pelopidas and the Epaminondas juſt now mentioned: not to ſay any thing of that excellent hiſtorian Plutarch, who more properly belongs to the times of the Roman empire. But that the bulk of this people were credulous and given to ſuperſtition may not unfairly

fairly be collected from the eſtabliſhment amongſt them of two oracles, leſs ſubtle in their contrivance than any of which we find mention in other places: theſe were the Trophonian cave, and that of Amphiaraus. Trophonius was a Bœotian, eminent for his ſkill in architecture, and who had been employed in building the temple at Delphi. He was deſtroyed by an earthquake at Lebadia near the lake Copais, the earth opening, and ſwallowing him up, as Pauſanias relates the ſtory. The manner of his death moved the ſuperſtitious Bœotians to number him among their gods: an oracle was alſo eſtabliſhed under the inſpection of this new divinity, the method of conſulting which was extremely ſingular. The enquirer was obliged to ſhove himſelf, feet foremoſt, into the entrance of the cavern, and was afterwards drawn forcibly into the inner parts of it by ſomewhat like the violence of a rapid river. Here he remained, perhaps eight and forty hours, perhaps longer, 'till in the end he was in the ſame manner forced out again. Whatever happened during this time, it is ſaid, that they who came out of the cave had their countenances ſtrangely diſtracted with horror and amazement, appearing entirely forgetful both of themſelves and of thoſe around them; but, on being delivered into the hands of the prieſts, they were *by their aſſiſtance* enabled to recollect what they had heard, and to give diſtinct accounts of the oracle. Pauſanias tells us, that the prieſts placed them on the throne of Mnemoſyne, the goddeſs of memory. It happened in the days of Demetrius, that a ſoldier of his guard went down to obſerve how the illuſion was carried on, or, according to Pauſanias, to bear away ſome of the rich offerings that adorned Trophonius' ſhrine; but his deſign being diſcovered, ſuch effectual care was taken of him, that he was never heard of more.

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

more.—The other oracle in Bœotia, that of Amphiaraus, was placed at Oropus, a city on the confines of this country and Attica. Amphiaraus was one of the ſeven chieftains who marched againſt Thebes, in the firſt Theban war. His fate bears a near reſemblance to that of Trophonius; for the earth, as it is ſaid, having opened and cloſed upon him, he alſo became a god, and had his oracle. It is generally believed, that he was loſt in ſome river of Bœotia, and that flattery to Alcmæon his ſon gave riſe to the fiction. However, this oracle was delivered in dreams; for Amphiaraus, when living, was famed for his ſkill in interpreting them. They who were deſirous to conſult him were to offer him up a ram in ſacrifice, and then to ſleep on the ſkin of the victim: whatever dreams they had, they were to account them ſent by Amphiaraus. If they had none of theſe, undoubtedly it was occaſioned by ſome improper obſervance of the rites of Amphiaraus: and if they dreamed at all, it was no difficult matter for a ſuperſtitious bigot to mould his dream to the purpoſe he had in view, and to imagine it ſignificative and pertinent.—The firſt form of government under which the Bœotians lived appears to have been the regal. Therſander, ſon to Polynices, reigned at Thebes, as we have obſerved, at the time of the Trojan expedition: he is ſaid to have been ſlain in Myſia, before he reached Troy. From Homer it may be conjectured, that beſides Thebes there were other ſovereignties in this part of Greece, for he marſhals the Bœotians under five princes. Be that as it may, it is certain that Tiſamenes, ſon to Therſander, reigned in Thebes after the Trojan war. He was ſucceeded by Damiſichthon,, ſon to Peneleus, a noble Theban, and one of the leaders at the ſiege of Troy. After Damaſichthon reigned Xanthus, who was killed, as we mentioned above, in

in Attica, and was the laſt that enjoyed regal dignity. When he was dead, a republic was eſtabliſhed among the Thebans; and in this form did their government continue for many generations. The perſons to whom the ſupreme authority, or executive power, was entruſted were ſeven in number, and choſen annually: they were called the Bœotarchs, or captains of the Bœotian people.

The iſland of Eubœa, adjoining to Bœotia, does not appear to have been ſubject to the Bœotian power, though we are told it was antiently joined to it by an iſthmus, and afterwards by a bridge: for the Euripus was extremely narrow in ſome parts, eſpecially between Aulis and Chalcis. Aulis, on the Bœotian ſide, was the port where the Grecian chiefs aſſembled in confederacy againſt Troy: and Chalcis was the principal city of the Eubœans. Indeed in proceſs of time numbers of Athenians eſtabliſhed themſelves along the ſouth-weſt coaſt, and got poſſeſſion of ſome conſiderable cities. Such was Oreos, originally called Hiſtiæa. Such alſo was Eretria, which was deſtroyed by the Perſians, but rebuilt afterwards with great ſplendor.—The Euripus is a ſtrait, remarkable for the frequency and irregularity of its tides. It is ſaid, that it ebbs and flows ſeven times in one day, and even, at certain periods of the moon, much oftener. The cauſe of theſe extraordinary agitations has been diligently ſought after both by antients and moderns: but there ſeem not to be as yet any accounts, that ſufficiently explain the ſtrange fluctuation.—The compaſs alone of Eubœa, which is 365 miles, could not but render it an iſland of conſiderable note: but it commanded attention ſtill more by the bravery of its inhabitants, and their early ſkill in navigation. No people were more famed for colonies: we find cities founded by them in Macedonia, in Theſſaly, in Sicily, Corcyra,

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

cyra, Italy, and many other parts. Nauplius, father to Palamedes, appears to have reigned over a part only of this iſland; for Elephenor is mentioned by Homer, in his review of the Grecian forces, as the king and leader of the Eubœans. It may be ſuppoſed, that the entire command devolved to him after the death of Palamedes and his father. The point of Caphareus to the ſouth-eaſt, in the Helleſpont, is the place where the Grecian ſhips were wrecked in their return from Troy. In the infant days of navigation, the doubling of this cape was eſteemed extremely dangerous, by reaſon of its many rocks and quickſands; and Nauplius, as we have mentioned, to revenge himſelf on the Greeks for the death of his ſon, lighted up fires, as tokens of a ſafe harbour, which proved too ſucceſsful in drawing the Greeks to the fatal coaſt. At the other end of the iſland is the city and promontory of Artemiſium, rendered famous by the firſt victory obtained by the Greeks over the fleets of Xerxes.—Soon after the Trojan war, the Eubœans formed themſelves into ſeveral ſmall republics, and each city was governed by its own laws, the adminiſtration being in the hands of the nobles. But this form of government was frequently diſturbed by domeſtic troubles, as well as by the other Grecian ſtates: for their fate generally depended on that of Greece; and as the balance of power on the continent changed hands, ſo their government underwent ſome new alteration.

WESTWARD of Bœotia is Phocis. This was a country for extent ſcarcely to be noticed, yet diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory on account of the martial ſpirit of its inhabitants. From north to ſouth it reaches only thirty five miles, and not more than thirty from eaſt to weſt, and in ſome parts not above twenty. Who could think, that ſuch a

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ſtate ſhould be able to maintain wars not only againſt the nations of Theſſaly, which they did often-times ſucceſsfully, but even againſt the united powers of Greece? Though confined in later times by the territories of the Locri, Phocis extended antiently much farther—to the Eubœan ſea—and according to ſome authors, even to the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, near the Theſſalian borders. This neighbourhood gave occaſion to very early jealouſies between theſe two brave natione, and brought on a deep-rooted hatred. The ſtrength of the Theſſalians conſiſted in their horſe; and Phocis, on the confines of Theſſaly, was very mountainous, and of rugged acceſs. Theſe different advantages made the fortune of war incline now to the one ſide, and now to the other. If the engagement happened in the plain country, the Phocians were worſted: when the Phocians could draw thoſe of Theſſaly into parts rough and of unſure footing, their horſe became uſeleſs, and the Phocians obtained the victory. However at length one of their commanders with three hundred men meeting with a body of Theſſalian horſe, he and his whole party were trampled to death, or cut to pieces. This was a grievous loſs to a people, whoſe forces were extremely few in number: accordingly it threw them into the greateſt conſternation, and determined them to embrace a meaſure not to be thought of without ſhuddering. Before they marched to battle, they ſecured in a convenient place the ſtatues of their gods, their wives and children, and near it raiſed a large pile of wood: this they committed to the care of thirty the boldeſt of their men, with orders, if they loſt the day, to murder the women and the children, ſet fire to the pile, and at once to conſume all the remains of the Phocian people. After theſe orders given, they went againſt the enemy, determined never

to

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

to return unleſs victorious. Such deſperate fury was not to be withſtood: the Theſſalians fled, and Phocis was preſerved. We ſhall find in ſome time the Phocians engaged in another war, which they maintained with an intrepidity little inferior to this.—As to their government, Homer tells us, that at the ſiege of Troy they were under the command of two princes; but it is likely they ſoon became a free ſtate, as there is not any account in hiſtory of the kings that reigned over them. And indeed this unconquered ſpirit of theirs ſpeaks a people accuſtomed to liberty: at leaſt, if they had kings over them, their power muſt have been greatly limited. No tract of Greece afforded more ſcope to the fictions of antient poetry, than Phocis. Here were the celebrated mountains of Parnaſſus and Helicon, where Apollo and the Muſes were feigned to have eſtabliſhed their favourite reſidence; and at the foot of Parnaſſus was the Caſtalian ſpring, conſecrated to the ſame inſpirers and patrons of verſe. It may naturally be conjectured, that they owed their celebrity to the happy invention of ſome antient Phocian bard, this country being remarkable for the poetical turn of its inhabitants. The land of freedom has always been the nurſery of literature: and among a people fond of independency, as the Phocians were, a number of ſhining geniuſes might well have made their appearance.—On the ſide of Parnaſſus we find another place of great note, the city of Delphi, where was held the convention of the Amphictyonic ſtates, and (what is ſtill more worthy of attention) where ſtood the temple of the Pythian Apollo, whoſe oracles were the boaſt of the pagan world. But of both theſe cauſes of the fame of Delphi we have ſpoken largely already. Criſſa was the ſeaport of the people of Delphi. In the earlier ages, it was a diſtinct ſtate:

but

but the Criſſeans having impiouſly levied tribute on thoſe who came to conſult the oracle, war was denounced againſt them; their city was taken, and the ſoil of their country dedicated to the god. More of this war will be found in the ſequel of our hiſtory.

On either ſide of Phocis the Locrians dwelt; to the weſt the Locri Ozolæ, to the eaſt the Locri Epicnemidii and Opuntii. It was over theſe laſt, as appears from Homer, that Ajax the ſon of Oileus reigned: they were ſituate between Phocis and the Eubœan gulph, with Bœotia to the ſouth-eaſt, and Theſſaly to the north-weſt. The Epicnemidii poſſeſſed the parts near the Maliac bay; the Opuntii dwelt higher up, on the Euripus. As for the Locri Ozolæ, they were placed on the other ſide of Phocis, in a very ſmall territory between Phocis and Attica, and in time were incorporated with the Ætolian people. The name of Locrians was attributed to them all, becauſe originally they were one people, thoſe of the eaſt and weſt having had a communication one with the other by thoſe mountains which divide Theſſaly from the reſt of Greece. And it is likely that the Ozolæ and Opuntians were colonies of the Locri Epicnemidii, as theſe were the only Locrians who had a right to ſend deputies to the Amphictyonic council. The Opuntians had their appellation from the city Opus on the Eubœan gulph, and the Epicnemidii from the mountain Cnemis. The Ozoleans ſought the etymology of their name in antient fable: it was derived, ſay they, from a word which in Greek ſignifies *to ſtink*, becauſe this whole country was infected by the putrid ſmell of the carcaſe of the monſter Python; for it was here Apollo ſlew him.—To Locris Epicnemidia belonged the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, that famed paſs, the ſcene of one of the greateſt actions that ever

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

ever people durſt perform. It lieth between mount Œta and the Maliac bay, and was named Thermopylæ, *the gates of the hot baths*, from the narrowneſs of the paſſage, and the hot ſprings that were in the neighbourhood of it. In Locris Ozolæa one place only is entitled to notice, the city Naupactus on the Criſſean gulph, where, as we have related already, the Heraclidæ made their preparations for invading Peloponneſus.

NEXT to Locris Ozolæa is Ætolia: to the weſt, it is joined by Acarnania; the gulph of Criſſa bounds it ſouthward, and Doris to the north. It ran about fifty miles from north to ſouth, but was not above twenty miles from eaſt to weſt, and in ſome places ſcarcely ten. It is the ſame country which, from Calydon one of its antient kings, was called Calydonia, and was the birth-place of Meleager, and the principal ſcene of his adventures. The river Achelous, which runs through it, is famous for the combat it ſuſtained with Hercules. The river-god, ſay the poets, transformed himſelf into a bull; but Hercules tore off his horn, and obtained the victory: this horn was afterwards changed into *the horn of plenty*. The truth is, this river laid waſte the country by its frequent inundations, 'till Hercules reduced it within its proper channel, and reſtored fertility to the Ætolian plains. However from this poetical account we may obſerve, in what honour the greateſt princes of old held the culture and improvement of a country, and how highly ſuch public benefits were eſteemed even in thoſe leſs refined ages: they were numbered among the moſt ſignal exploits which their heroes had performed. —Œneus, father to Meleager and Tydeus, and grandfather to Diomedes, was king of Ætolia; but before the ſiege of Troy, the ſceptre had paſſed into another line. Some generations after, Ætolia became a free ſtate; and Thermum, their chief

chief city, received the name of Panætolium, be- BOOK
cauſe the deputies of all Ætolia were wont to aſ- II.
ſemble here. The Ætolians were a people re- Sect. 1.
markable for a brutal courage, and for the frequent depredations they committed in the neighbouring parts. Beſides this, there is little worth relating of them; for their name is ſeldom to be met with in any of the nobler tranſactions of the Grecian people until the times of the Achean league, as they affected to live in the ſtrong holds which their craggy and inacceſſible mountains afforded them, except when they were invited down by the hopes of plunder.

NORTH of Ætolia lies the country of thoſe warlike Dores, who entered Peloponneſus with the Heraclidæ. They are remarkable in hiſtory for their dialect, their muſic, and their ſtyle of architecture, in all which there was a manlineſs of ſtrength, which ſeems to have been peculiar to them, and continued to be their diſtinguiſhing character even long after they had been ſettled in Peloponneſus. Their country was of very ſmall extent, from north to ſouth only forty miles, and about twenty from eaſt to weſt, containing according to Strabo only four cities, Erineus, Boium, Pindus, and Cytinium; on which account alſo it is known by the title of Dorica Tetrapolis.

ACARNANIA has the Ionian ſea for its boundary on the weſt and ſouth: to the north it borders on Epirus, of which alſo in latter days it became a province. Remarkable in this diſtrict is the promontory Leucate, antiently joined to the continent by a narrow iſthmus, which the Corinthians cut through, ſo as to render the promontory an iſland. This place has obtained a name in hiſtory for more than one reaſon. It was the ſpot from which hopeleſs lovers leaped down into the ſea, to cure themſelves of their fatal paſſion. Here alſo

BOOK II. Sect. 1. it was the cuſtom annually to precipitate a criminal from the top of the promontory, by way of atonement to the gods, particularly to Apollo. If he eſcaped with life, he was nevertheleſs deemed accurſed, and baniſhed the territories of Acarnania. The promontory was of an amazing height, and on the top of it was Apollo's temple, which was to be ſeen from far: the coaſt beneath was extremely rocky, and *infamous* for ſhipwrecks; and hence is this temple called by Virgil *formidatus nautis Apollo*, the ſeaman's terror. Beyond this northward, at the entrance of the Ambracian bay, is the city of Actium, memorable for that important ſea-fight that gave the empire of the world to Auguſtus. Geographers uſually aſcribe this town to Epirus, becauſe though antiently this part of Greece was divided into ſeveral ſmall diſtricts, each with peculiar names, as Acarnania, Amphilochia, Theſprotia, Moloſſis, Epirus, Chaonia, yet in time theſe names were loſt, and the whole coaſt from Leucate to Illyricum was called Epirus.

Æn. 3. 275.

HERE was the kingdom of Pyrrhus the ſon of Achilles, who reigned over a part of this coaſt, after his return from Troy. When he was dead, his kingdom fell to Helenus, one of the ſons of Priam, whom Pyrrhus had brought captive into Greece. As Epirus was the weſtern extremity of the Grecian continent, this circumſtance gave birth to many fables which the poets have related concerning it. For the countries that lay far weſt were in the language of antient Greece called *the infernal regions*, and the adventures which their princes had there were ſaid to be in *the realms of darkneſs*. It may be obſerved, that Cocytus and Acheron, two of the poetical rivers of hell, are real rivers in the Theſprotian territories. Cities of note in this tract of country are Argos Amphilochium,

lochium, ſo called by its founder Alcmæon, the ſon of Amphiaraus, in honour of his brother Amphilochus—Ambracia, above the gulph—and on the other ſide, on a point of land that runs into the ſea, Nicopolis, *the city of victory*, built and denominated by Auguſtus in memory of his victory over Antony: thislaſt was adorned with ſo many valuable privileges, as to become in a ſhort time one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the Epirotes.

FARTHER north, the Acroceraunian mountains riſe to the eye. They are noted for the tempeſts that dwell continually on their high-raiſed ſummit, and the ſwelling ſea and dangerous ſhelves that guard them beneath. Their very name is full of terror, Acroceraunia, or *mountains of thunder*.—On the borders of Moloſſis we trace Dodona, famous for the oracle of Jupiter, which Herodotus would have us believe to be the moſt antient oracle of all Greece. He gives two different accounts of it, which are both very remarkable. The one he had from the prieſts of Jupiter at Thebes in Egypt: they told him, that ſome Phœnicians had carried away two prieſteſſes from that place, one of which they ſold into Lybia, the other into Greece; that each of theſe erected an oracle, and inſtituted the worſhip of Jupiter where they ſettled, that of the Dodonean Jupiter in Greece, and that of Jupiter Hammon in Libya. The other account was from the prieſteſſes at Dodona, who told him, that *two black pigeons* took their flight from Thebes in Egypt, and ſettled, the one in Libya, the other at Dodona, each of which, ſpeaking with a human voice, ordered that an oracle ſhould be inſtituted to Jupiter. The ſtory affords proof, how fond the Greeks were of veiling plain facts under myſterious covers. Perhaps among the Egyptians *a black dove* was the hieroglyphic of *a prieſteſs*. This was foundation enough for a fable, and the legend

BOOK II. Sect. 1. was credulouſly received by the ſucceeding generations.—But there is not occaſion to ſay more of this part of Greece. Their hiſtory, at leaſt in the ages of which we are to treat, offers ſcarcely any thing worthy of notice. Let us only take a curſory view of the iſlands, that lie off the Epirian coaſt.

THE principal of theſe, Corcyra, is an iſland of conſiderable extent, whoſe inhabitants were eſteemed among the ableſt mariners of Greece. Thucydides tells us, they were for ſome time maſters of the ſea; and Herodotus, that they had more ſhips than any other Grecian people, the Athenians excepted. They are ſaid to have been a colony of Corinthians; but they ſoon grew up into a flouriſhing, powerful ſtate, and at length became able to diſpute the ſuperiority with Corinth herſelf. More to the ſouth is a cluſter of iſlands called the Echinades, within a ſhort way of the coaſt of Acarnania. And beyond them are Cephalenia antiently called Samus, Ithaca, and Zacynthus, whoſe chief glory is their having been the kingdom of the wiſe Ulyſſes. The other iſlands marked in the map off the coaſt of Peloponneſus, among which are thoſe named the Strophades, have little beſides ſtrange fabulous tales to entertain us with.

WE may now return to the continent. The northern limits of Greece are Theſſaly, Macedonia, and we may add Illyricum, one portion of which was undoubtedly Grecian, though the other belonged to the Barbarians. The Grecian part was inhabited by colonies that ſettled along the Adriatic gulph, extending themſelves from the territory of Liſſus to the river Celydnus. In this tract are compriſed ſeveral cities of eminence, Dyrrachium, Apollonia, Aulon, Amantia, moſt of which encreaſed greatly in wealth and ſplendor, when the Romans were become the arbiters of the fate of Greece.

Greece. In thoſe days, Apollonia was in high eſ- BOOK
teem for arts and letters: here Auguſtus had his II.
education, and was purſuing his ſtudies in this Sect. 1.
place at the very time when Julius Cæſar was ſlain.
—Dyrrachium likewiſe, or Epidamnus, for ſuch was its original name, flouriſhed remarkably under the empire of Rome, and became the richeſt mart and moſt frequented ſea-port of all Greece, as Brunduſium lay convenient to it, the greateſt number of thoſe who had occaſion to paſs between Italy and Greece making their way by Dyrrachium. This city, as well as Apollonia, was founded by thoſe of Corcyra, and is accounted the laſt city of Illyricum the Grecian.

EASTWARD of Epire and Illyricum is Theſſaly, ſituate along the Ægean ſea and the Thermaic gulph, otherwiſe called the gulph of Theſſalonica. Antiently this was the utmoſt frontier of Greece; for Macedonia and the countries adjacent received the name of Grecian only in later days. Of courſe it lay open greatly to foreign invaſions, and to the inſults of whatever adventurers entered Greece by land. And for this reaſon were the Theſſalians, from early ages, inured to war: they were particularly eminent for their ſkill in horſemanſhip, a circumſtance which accounts for the fiction of the centaurs having its origin here. Many generations after, the Theſſalian horſe maintained the ſame character, their merit having contributed not a little to Alexander's ſucceſſes, who diſtinguiſhed and rewarded it in an extraordinary manner. It was among this people alſo the Argonautic expedition took its riſe. The city Pagaſæ, within the Pagaſean gulph, is the place where the ſhip Argo was built; and near it is the city Aphetæ, whence ſailed the Argonauts: ſo that Theſſaly had the honour of ſending out the firſt fleet that was ever equipped on the Grecian coaſt. And indeed

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

indeed even before this, from the firſt dawn of improvement in Greece, Theſſaly began to flouriſh, and in it reigned many princes of great name in the hiſtory of the firſt Grecian times. Here was ſeated old Deucalion, to whom moſt of the royal houſes of Greece owed their origin; and here was the antient Hellas, the kingdom of Hellen, Deucalion's ſon. Here likewiſe, to the ſouth of Pagaſæ, was the city of Iolchos, where Pelias was king. In the time alſo of the Trojan war, Theſſaly made a conſiderable figure, and Homer numbers up ſeveral illuſtrious princes from theſe parts. In Phthia was the kingdom of the Myrmidons, the inheritance of the bold Achilles. In Melibœa Philoctetes reigned. The realm of Tricca in upper Theſſaly belonged to Machaon and Podalirius, the two ſons of Æſculapius, famed not leſs for their knowledge of ſimples than for their bravery in battle. And Antron, together with the neighbouring coaſt on the Maliac gulph, was ſubject to the gallant Proteſilaus, the firſt that dared to leap forth from the Grecian ſhips, and engage the armies of Troy. At the time of this expedition, therefore, Theſſaly was divided into ſeveral ſovereignties; and from Homer it appears, that it formed nine diſtinct ſtates. It was afterwards diſtinguiſhed into four departments or cantons, Theſſaliotis, Eſtiæotis, Pelaſgiotis, and Phthiotis. The two firſt were the upper, as the laſt were the lower Theſſaly. The whole country is extolled by antient writers for the beauty of its ſituation and its fertility of ſoil: twenty-four hills are counted in it, among which are a number of fair dales, interſperſed with ſeveral delightful rivers. But the chief glory of Theſſaly was Tempe, deſcribed as exceeding all the vales in the world for romantic appearance, and the richneſs and verdure of its paſturages. It lay beneath the mountains of Oſſa, Pelion,

Pelion, and Olympus, whoſe craggy tops ſeemed to reach the heavens: below through deep meadows ran the river Peneus, which emptied itſelf into the ſea between Olympus and Oſſa. Fame ſays, that antiently the whole vale was one lake, Olympus and Oſſa being joined together, ſo that the river had not any way of diſcharging its waters: but Neptune, feign the poets, ſtruck his trident againſt the mountains, and ſeparated them. —In the lower Theſſaly Pharſalia is ſituated, on whoſe fatal plain Cæſar triumphed over the liberties of his country. Long ere this happened, had the Romans impoſed the yoke on Greece; and now Greece ſaw the day, when Rome herſelf loſt her freedom, and felt the ſcourge of tyrants. Such in all ages has been the fate of the kingdoms of the earth. Liberty and empire are obtained and loſt again, as nations riſe to virtue, or ſink into diſſoluteneſs. Greece, enervated through luxury and vice, fell an eaſy prey to the ambition of Rome; and when Rome, venal and corrupted, was no longer able to preſerve her liberties, Cæſar ſtept in, and inſlaved her, as ſhe had inſlaved the world before. We ſhall have abundant occaſion of verifying to ourſelves this important maxim in the hiſtory of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece. We have ſeen how low were their beginnings, without either ſupply of treaſure, or extent of territory. We ſhall behold them exalted to a ſtate of great proſperity, and the terror of mighty princes. And yet, when their former worth is diminiſhed, ſoon ſhall all that glory be at an end, and they ſhall again become an inſignificant, weak people.

BOOK II. Sect. I.

Let us caſt our eyes to the north of Theſſaly, and in the fortunes of the kingdom of Macedonia we ſhall clealy diſcern, what is the ſtrength of virtue and uncorrupted manners. The Macedonians were a people inconſiderable in number,

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BOOK II. Sect. 1.

pent up within narrow limits, harraſſed by every ſtate around them, and for many generations maintaining at utmoſt hazard their precarious liberties. Nevertheleſs, under all theſe diſtreſſes they preſerved minds unbroken: from being engaged in continual wars, they became expert in arms; and penury at home, and danger abroad, rendered them temperate, hardy, adventurous. Hence by degrees they roſe ſuperior to all the difficulties that environed them: they repelled their enemies; they enlarged their borders; they forced thoſe very nations, who had been their moſt formidable aſſailants, to acknowledge ſubjection to them; they extended their empire into Illyricum, into Thrace, into Theſſaly; and at length ſaw themſelves, what their moſt temerarious hopes could never have promiſed, maſters of Greece, and arbiters of the world. The change is ſtriking. Time was, when Macedonia was not reckoned a part of Greece, and when a Grecian would have thought it a reproach to have been ranked with the natives of that country. Even a Macedonian prince, Alexander, ſon to that Amyntas who was king of Macedon in the days of Hyſtaſpis, was challenged as a barbarian, when he offered himſelf in the liſts at the Olympic games. Indeed he proved his right, and obtained admiſſion; for the Macedonian kings were deſcended from no leſs a perſon than Hercules himſelf. They were of the line of Temenus, to whom the kingdom of Argos was allotted after the return of the Heraclidæ. The firſt of this family that reigned in Macedon was Caranus, who with a number of his countrymen emigrated from Argolis in diſguſt at the oppreſſive government of his brother Phidon. From Peloponneſus he made his way northward, encouraged by an oracle, ſay the annaliſts, which had promiſed him a ſecure and flouriſhing eſtabliſhment, on condition that he followed

followed the direction of *the goats*. It happened on a certain day, when he was now on the borders of Æmathia (for ſo was Macedon, or at leaſt a part of it, called originally) as he and the companions of his fortune were journeying on, uncertain in what manner the oracle was to be fulfilled, on a ſudden the ſky was overcaſt, and a heavy ſtorm of hail and rain coming on, they obſerved a herd of goats fleeing before the tempeſt. It immediately occurred to Caranus, that theſe were his *fated guides*: following them cloſely therefore, he ſoon found himſelf at the gates of Edeſſa, the reſidence of the Æmathian kings. The darkneſs of the weather, and violence of the ſtorm favoured him; ſo that entering in unperceived, he got poſſeſſion of the city firſt, and afterwards of the whole kingdom. This adventure occaſioned the changing of the name of Edeſſa into that of Ægæ, or the city of the goats, which for many ages after continued to be the capital of the kingdom, 'till the firſt Philip eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Pella, the place of his birth, which ſtands near the Thermaic gulph. Even then Ægæ retained much of its former conſequence: here were the tombs of the kings of Macedon, and here extraordinary ſolemnities were uſually celebrated. On an occaſion of this kind, it was, that Philip the ſon of Amyntas, juſt now mentioned, was ſlain in this city, at the ſolemnizing of his daughter Cleopatra's nuptials with Alexander king of Epirus.—The kingdom of Caranus and his immediate ſucceſſors, it may well be ſuppoſed, was of very ſmall extent, though the obſcure accounts we have of the earlier ſtate of Macedon will not permit us to form preciſe notions concerning it. Indeed in thoſe days, the Macedonians were ſcarcely conſiderable enough to hold a place in hiſtory. However, as we have ſaid, their virtues rendered them at length a proſperous, mighty

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

mighty people; and low and indigent as their firſt condition was, yet, at the time of Philip's death, all that tract of country to the weſt of Macedon, as far as the Adriatic—to the north, to mount Hæmus and the Scardian hills—north-eaſtward, to the river Neſtus—and eaſtward, to the Ægean ſea, was already ſubjected to the Macedonian power. But of the Macedonian fortunes, hereafter. At preſent, we ſhall only take a ſhort ſurvey of the more remarkable places of this country.

THE Thermaic gulph waſhes part of the eaſtern coaſt of Macedonia: it had its name from Thermæ, a city at the extremity of the gulph, which was afterwards rebuilt by Caſſander and Theſſalonice, Philip's daughter, in honour of whom it was called Theſſalonica. This, according to Strabo, was one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of all Macedonia, its ſituation giving it ſuch advantages, that to this day it ceaſes not to make a conſiderable figure under the modern appellation of Salonichi. The department in which it ſtood was named Amphaxitis.—Southward of this lay the region of Chalcidice, ſo named moſt probably from a colony of Eubœans from Chalcis, who ſettled here. In this diviſion was Athos, a mountain known to the geographer for its amazing ſize and height, and to the hiſtorian for the vaunting attempt of Xerxes to cut through the iſthmus which connects it with the continent, and to open a canal large enough to receive his fleets. With a profuſion of expence and labour was this work carried on, a work deſigned to be the wonder of all ſucceeding ages, not a trace of which however is now extant, the earth having long ſince filled up the artificial channel.—Southward is the peninſula of Pallene, called likewiſe Phlegra, from a Greek verb importing *to burn*, becauſe here, ſay the poets, the giants were deſtroyed by Jupiter's thunder.

der. The coaſt being broken by many creeks and ſmall gulphs, offered to ſeamen a number of ſafe retreats; whence the ſeveral ſettlements, which the trading nations made in theſe parts. Potidæa was firſt founded by a colony from Corinth, but paſſed into the hands of the Athenians. Mende and Scione are names that often occur in the Athenian annals. Beyond theſe, near the gulph of Torone, is the city of the Olynthians, a people whoſe frequent revolutions of fortune, and brave defence of their liberties, are memorable. Near the entrance of the Thermaic gulph are ſome few iſlands not deſerving attention. Stagira, to the northward, had the honour of giving birth to Ariſtotle. Further north, on the river Strymon, is the renowned Athenian colony Amphipolis. Antiently it was called Εννέαι ὁδοὶ, or the Nine ways: but from the time the Athenians were ſeated here, it received the name of Amphipolis, becauſe the waters of the Strymon circled round it. Eion, which has its place at one of the mouths of this river, was the mart-town and dock of the Amphipolitans. The whole tract between the Strymon and the Neſtus originally belonged to a Thracian tribe called the Edoni. The rich gold mines, with which it abounded, drew to this diſtrict the inhabitants of the neighbouring iſland Thaſus, whom the Athenians expelled, and after drawing much wealth from hence, were in their turn diſpoſſeſſed by Philip the ſon of Amyntas. This prince reduced the whole country between the two rivers, and made the Neſtus the boundary of his kingdom. To curb the Thracian borderers, he built and called after his own name the city Philippi, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, the ſame in whoſe neighbourhood Brutus and Caſſius periſhed in the too late enterpriſe of retarding the ſlavery of Rome. In the days of the goſpel, ſeveral parts of this king-

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

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BOOK II. Sect. 1. dom of Macedon, from Philippi as far as Berœa, a city of Æmathia, were rendered illuſtrious by the labours of the great Apoſtle of the Gentiles; and at Philippi and Theſſalonica were flouriſhing churches eſtabliſhed by his preaching. It appears how high was the regard that excellent miniſter of chriſtianity bore to them, by the three Epiſtles which he wrote, one to thoſe of Philippi, and two to thoſe of Theſſalonica.

But it is time to relieve the reader from the inſpection of the Map; to which however he will do well to recur occaſionally, in order to have a diſtinct notion of many of thoſe tranſactions we are going to lay before him.

BOOK IV.

SECTION I.

HAVING taken a review of the ſeveral nations of Greece, having ſeen their ſituation, what were the natural advantages they enjoyed, and how inconſiderable were their beginnings, we are in the next place to behold them riſing to an height of glory ſcarcely to be conceived within the reach of ſuch a people. However, we are to keep our eye on the ſtates of Athens and Sparta. Their hiſtory, eſpecially in the times we treat of, is the hiſtory of Greece in general: and whether in the atchievements of war, or the arts of peace, it was uſually either the one or the other of theſe that led the way to glory. BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

AFTER the death of Codrus, Athens, we have ſaid, was no longer under kings. The ſupreme power was nevertheleſs preſerved to the poſterity of this

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

this prince, and his ſon Medon reigned with the title of Archon. This gave riſe to a great migration from Greece into Aſia; for Nileus and Androcles, the other ſons of Codrus, unwilling to ſubmit to their brother Medon, reſolved to ſeek a foreign ſettlement. Attica was at this time extremely full of people, many of the exiles from Peloponneſus having made this their place of refuge. Nileus, taking advantage of the conjuncture, got together a great number of adventurers, with whom he paſſed over to the Aſiatic coaſt, part of which from them received the name of Ionia. This eſtabliſhment ſoon became conſiderable. On the continent they built ten cities, and two in the iſlands of Chios and Samos: and to ſtrengthen themſelves the more effectually, they formed a confederacy, appointing that deputies from all theſe cities ſhould convene at certain times to deliberate about the common good; whence the temple, where this convention was held, was called Pan-Ionium. They alſo ſubdued ſeveral iſlands both in the Ægean and Icarian ſeas, Paros, Andros, Delos, &c. Nevertheleſs, from what Herodotus tells us it appears, they did not long preſerve their liberties entire. The ſoft Aſiatic climate ſubdued them; and they yielded themſelves up firſt to Crœſus, and after him, to the other princes of Aſia. There were alſo particular tyrants in moſt of theſe Grecian cities. And hence it was, that the Athenians renounced the name of Ionian, by which they were diſtinguiſhed in the days of Theſeus; for we are informed by Herodotus, that in his time the Athenians eſteemed it a reproach to be ſo called.—To the north of Ionia, many years after the Ionic migration, according to ſome, according to others, ſomewhat earlier, the Aſiatic coaſt was poſſeſſed by another colony denominated the Æolic, probably from their dialect, the language

guage proper to Achaia, from which they were ſent. Theſe erected eleven cities on the continent of Aſia, and eſtabliſhed themſelves alſo in Leſbos, one of the largeſt and moſt fertile iſlands of the Ægean ſea.—A third migration from Greece to the ſame coaſt took place ſome years after the Ionic. We have mentioned, that when the Heraclidæ and Dorians invaded the territories of Attica, their firſt attempt was on Megara; and that, after their retreat on the death of Codrus, a party of Dorians maintained themſelves in the Megarean diſtrict. But ſo ſtraitened were they in territory, and ſo harraſſed by thoſe of Attica, that at length a number of them determined to ſeek an happier ſettlement, and paſſed over to the Aſiatic coaſt. There they got poſſeſſion of the iſland of Rhodes, and of two cities on the continent, Cnidus and Halicarnaſſus, the laſt illuſtrious for the Mauſoleum, or noble monument raiſed by Artemiſia to the memory of Mauſolus her huſband, but much more for having been the birth-place of Herodotus and Dionyſius the hiſtorians, and of the two poets Heraclitus and Callimachus.

While theſe ſettlements were forming in Aſia, the government of Athens underwent frequent alteration. In leſs than one hundred and fifty years after the introduction of perpetual Archons, the Athenians reduced the continuance of that office to the ſpace of ten years only. And ſcarcely had theſe decennial Archons been in power ſeventy years, when again the people ſought a change, eſteeming their rights in danger, if they had not every year an opportunity of chooſing new magiſtrates. Alcmæon was the laſt that enjoyed the Archonſhip for life. He was followed by ſeven decennial Archons, the firſt of whom was Charops, and the laſt Eryxias. Theſe gave place to the annual Archons, of whom Creon was the firſt.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

It could not be expected, that during theſe domeſtic conteſts for liberty, Athens ſhould have any conſiderable ſhare in the affairs of other ſtates. Power is not eaſily parted with: and therefore may we well ſuppoſe, that every ſtep which the people gained coſt them dear. So that, in this time of ſtruggle, the whole energy of the Athenian ſtrength muſt have been confined within Athens itſelf: it had too much employment there, to extend its influence to foreign concerns. But if during this period Athens does not appear great, ſhe was however acquiring the means of greatneſs. It was this liberty, of which they were now riſing to the enjoyment, that rendered their country afterwards ſo dear to them, and animated them to hazard chearfully even life itſelf in the defence of a conſtitution bleſſed with ſuch noble privileges.

But we muſt now ſee, what was the condition of Sparta and the other Peloponneſian ſtates. How the deſcendants of Hercules parcelled out the kingdoms of Peloponneſus, has been related already: Temenus was king of Argos, Creſphontes of Meſſenia; and after the death of Ariſtodemus, his two ſons, Euryſthenes and Procles, were put in poſſeſſion jointly of the Spartan throne. It ſhould ſeem hardly credible, that three kingdoms, founded in the ſame country, at one time, by one people, ſhould have fortunes entirely different. Yet ſo it was: the glory of Sparta, though the leaſt advantaged by nature, far outſhone that of Meſſenia and Argos; and the time came, when not only all the nations of Peloponneſus owned the Spartan power, but even over all Greece, and into Aſia itſelf, did Sparta extend her dominion. How this ſtate roſe to ſo high a pitch of glory, is a ſubject well deſerving inveſtigation.

We have remarked in another place, that the government eſtabliſhed at Sparta was extremely hazardous.

hazardous. Two princes equal in authority might eaſily prefer their own private ambition to the public good, and diſtract the ſtate inſtead of governing it. This evil was felt in the very beginning. Euryſthenes and Procles, notwithſtanding the near relation of brothers that ſubſiſted between them, betrayed in many inſtances a jealouſy of each other, and broke out into frequent conteſts. Euryſthenes was ſucceeded by Agis, and Procles by Söus, their ſons, who ſeem to have been more happily united. The truth was, the common danger left them no time for domeſtic diſputes, as they were both called upon to provide for their own ſecurity. The Helotæ had taken up arms againſt Sparta. Agis treated the inhabitants of the Lacedemonian ſtate with too much ſeverity: he departed from the wiſe policy of the firſt kings, who had ſought to confirm themſelves in their new kingdom by gentleneſs and mild government, and had therefore granted to the inhabitants of Laconia the ſame privileges the Spartans enjoyed. He pretended, that theſe indulgences had rendered them ſeditious and ungovernable; and not content with abridging them of their right, he alſo impoſed contributions on all the Lacedemonian cities. The people of Helos could not ſee their liberties wreſted from them, and ſubmit tamely. They roſe in arms. But the fortune of the Spartan kings prevailed againſt them: Helos was taken; and the inhuman conquerors condemned the unhappy Helotæ, and all their poſterity, to eternal bondage. It is ſcarce to be conceived, how dreadful was the ſervitude which the pride and cruelty of the Spartans made them bear. They treated them with the utmoſt contumely: they even murdered them without the leaſt provocation, and ſported themſelves in their perfidy to theſe wretched men. We may judge of their demeanor towards them from

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

It could not be expected, that during theſe domeſtic conteſts for liberty, Athens ſhould have any conſiderable ſhare in the affairs of other ſtates. Power is not eaſily parted with: and therefore may we well ſuppoſe, that every ſtep which the people gained coſt them dear. So that, in this time of ſtruggle, the whole energy of the Athenian ſtrength muſt have been confined within Athens itſelf: it had too much employment there, to extend its influence to foreign concerns. But if during this period Athens does not appear great, ſhe was however acquiring the means of greatneſs. It was this liberty, of which they were now riſing to the enjoyment, that rendered their country afterwards ſo dear to them, and animated them to hazard chearfully even life itſelf in the defence of a conſtitution bleſſed with ſuch noble privileges.

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BOOK IV. Sect. 1. this ſingle inſtance. In a diſtreſsful war, the Spartans had been obliged to arm their ſlaves, and had promiſed them their liberty if they fought bravely. The too faithful Helotæ acquitted themſelves with great valour, and by their means the Spartans obtained the victory. Accordingly they were declared free—the honour of Sparta was engaged for this—but another method was found to render this liberty of ſmall avail. They were way-laid: and thoſe brave men, who had expoſed their lives to ſave Sparta, were, to the number of two thouſand, baſely deſtroyed.

Sous claims the character of a brave prince, if that title is juſtly merited by him that lays waſte his neighbours' territories; for it appears, that he made Arcadia feel the ravages of war, and added a good part of it to his own dominions. Plutarch, who records this, tells us alſo of his manner of obſerving a treaty, that deſerves remembering. He had attacked the Clitorians, a people of Arcadia, and they had hemmed him up in a place where he and his whole army muſt have periſhed through drought. The king, in this difficulty, offered to make peace on any conditions; and the honeſt Clitorians required only, that he ſhould reſtore to them the territories of which he had deprived them by force of arms. He conſented, with this ſtipulation, that he and all his men ſhould drink of a ſpring not far diſtant from his camp. After the cuſtomary oaths, Söus being ſet at liberty called his men together, and offered his kingdom to him that would forbear drinking. Their thirſt was ſo exceſſive, that none would accept the offer. At laſt, when his men had all drank, the king himſelf came to the fount, and ſprinkling ſome of the water on his face, without ſwallowing any, he marched off, refuſing to give up his conqueſts, becauſe he and all his men had not drank, according

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ing to the articles. The Lacedemonian army was now refreſhed; and the Arcadians had nothing left them, but to bewail their eaſy faith. BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

To Agis ſucceeded his ſon Echeſtratus; to Söus, Eurytion, from whom that race retained the name of Eurypontidæ or Eurytionidæ. Hiſtorians have accounted for this honourable mark of diſtinction paid to the memory of Eurytion, by informing us, that he rendered himſelf dear to his people by ruling them with a gentle hand, and ſoftening the harſhneſs of the Spartan government, which the ſeverity and haughtineſs of the preceding kings had made extremely grievous. His humane conduct however was not imitated by the princes that came after. They again endeavoured to ſtrain high the royal prerogative: ſo that, through their ill-judged policy, Sparta was threatened with imminent ruin. For the people, unable to brook the arbitrary ſway of thoſe tyrannical governors, were frequently driven into avowed oppoſition: and as it often happens in civil commotions, when the Spartan kings found themſelves unable to ſtem the torrent, they were obliged to purchaſe peace at the expence of their juſt authority, which thereby fell into weakneſs and contempt.

THE princes that reigned during theſe diſtractions, were Prytanis the ſon of Eurytion, and Labotas (or Leobotes, as Herodotus calls him) ſon to Echeſtratus. To them ſucceeded Eunomus and Doryſſus, whoſe reigns were remarkable for little more than the confuſed ſtate of Sparta, the effects of which proved fatal to Eunomus. He was murdered in one of theſe domeſtic tumults, ſtabbed with a cook's knife, ſays Plutarch, as he was endeavouring to perſuade the contending parties to peace. Eunomus left a ſon called Polydectes, who aſcended the throne after him; and alſo a younger ſon by a ſecond wife, whoſe name was Lycurgus. Polydectes did not

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. long ſurvive his father: and now the Spartans turned their eyes on Lycurgus, whoſe many virtues ſeemed to promiſe the greateſt bleſſings to his country.

AND certainly he was a prince of the moſt unblemiſhed probity, and an uncommon excellence of mind. His firſt ſtep after the death of his brother Polydectes makes proof of this. Polydectes had left a wife, who was found to be pregnant. As ſoon as Lycurgus knew it, he declared that the crown of Sparta belonged to her iſſue, provided it were male, and refuſed to adminiſter the government under any other title than than of *Protector*. The widow queen, an ambitious woman, who judged of the diſpoſition of Lycurgus by her own, made him an overture, that ſhe would deſtroy the child ſhe was pregnant with, and ſecure the crown to him, if he would engage to marry her. Lycurgus received the propoſal with horror; but wiſely concealing his ſentiments, he ordered the meſſenger to thank her in his name, and to deſire that ſhe would not make uſe of any violent means, as they might impair her health; but that he would take care to diſpoſe of the child, as ſoon as born. However when her time of travail was come, he ſent ſome of the principal of his lords to obſerve all that paſſed, with orders, that if it were a girl, they ſhould give it into the hands of the women; but if a boy, they ſhould bring it to him, whereever he was. She was delivered of a ſon, who, according to the directions, was brought immediately to Lycurgus. It ſo happened, that he was, at that very time, at ſupper with ſome of the chief men of Sparta. Taking then the child into his arms, *Behold*, ſays he, *my lords of Sparta, here is a king born unto us*; and placing the infant in the chair of ſtate, he named him Charilaus, or *the joy of the people*, as indeed his reign had its beginning amidſt loud

loud acclamations and the greateſt tranſports of joy, all people being wonderfully delighted with this remarkable inſtance of the noble mind and juſtice of Lycurgus. BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

THE queen-mother, however, ſaw this generous action in a very different light. She was fallen from her ambitious hopes, and had beſides entirely deſtroyed her credit with Lycurgus, by laying her ſoul too much open to him. Her only reſource therefore was, to raiſe ſuſpicions of the views he might entertain. Perſons were employed to ſpread about many complaints, which the queen pretended to have againſt him for not treating her ſuitably to her quality, and withal artfully to inſinuate, that the king's life was far from being ſafe with Lycurgus, who would certainly make uſe of the firſt favourable opportunity to ſtep into the throne.

To ſilence the murmurs of this wicked faction, and to prevent the reproachful ſurmiſes he might have been expoſed to, ſhould Charilaus have chanced to die, Lycurgus determined to leave Sparta, and never to return till the king had a ſon to ſecure the ſucceſſion. Nevertheleſs, ſtill was his neareſt concern for his beloved country, and how to remove the evils it laboured under. For this purpoſe he reſolved to viſit the wiſeſt nations, and to obſerve their laws and polities, that he might be the better enabled to reform the Spartan ſtate, and to render it great and proſperous. His firſt voyage was to Crete, renowned for the laws of Minos. Here he met with one Thales or Thaletas, a perſon of ſuperior accompliſhments, and particularly eminent for his poetical genius. Poets in thoſe days were uſeful men: they employed their talents for the concerns of virtue, and endeavoured to advance the improvement of mankind by delivering ſage moral precepts in the harmony of verſe.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

verſe. Of this order was Thales. Lycurgus eſteemed it the beſt ſervice he could do to his country, to prevail on this excellent perſon to paſs over to Sparta, where the ſweetneſs of his meaſures might ſmooth a rugged people, and his wiſe precepts form their civilized minds to a love of decency and of worthy deeds. The Cretan complied with the requeſt, and the expectations of Lycurgus were not fruſtrate. Plutarch tells us, that the power of Thales' muſic, and the pathetic exhortations to unanimity and obedience which he was wont to accord on his lyre, had ſo great an influence on their minds, that inſenſibly they were ſoftened, and diſpoſed to a chearful concurrence for the public welfare. In a word, the poet prepared the way for the lawgiver, and made Sparta capable of receiving the ordinances of Lycurgus.

To the influence of this Thales is in part to be aſcribed the earneſtneſs, which the Spartans teſtified for the return of their illuſtrious countryman: but beſides, misfortunes alſo had contributed to make them wiſe, and to ſhew them how much they had loſt in Lycurgus. For it is obſerved by Plutarch, that the abilities of thoſe who were then on the Spartan throne were far from being equal to the high office entruſted to them, and that they managed public affairs with great inſufficiency and weakneſs. Theſe diſtreſſes of government, together with the excellent leſſons of Thales, made them wiſh ardently for Lycurgus's return, and ſolicit it by frequent embaſſies. But he was immoveable from his purpoſe, not to reviſit Sparta till a ſon was born to Charilaus. After a conſiderable ſtay therefore in Crete, he paſſed over into Aſia, where he collected together Homer's works, that were ſcattered through the Grecian cities. This was the only valuable acquiſition he made on the Aſiatic coaſt, the manners of thoſe Grecians having, as

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we have obſerved, become extremely luxurioue and diſſolute. His next progreſs was into Egypt. What improvements he made in that land of ſcience, hiſtorians mention not, one only excepted; he brought away with him their ſcheme of military eſtabliſhments, which he afterwards introduced into the Spartan ſtate.

When he had thus ſpent many years in enriching his mind with a knowledge of the cuſtoms and civil œconomy of different nations, out of all theſe he formed a plan of government for the Lacedemonian people; and the ſituation of Charilaus' family having put an end to his ſcruples, he began now to ſhape his courſe towards Lacedemon. In his way home, he paid his offerings at the ſhrine of Apollo at Delphos, and conſulted the oracle on the ſucceſs of his undertaking; at which time, ſay the pagans, the propheteſs ſaluted him with theſe remarkable words,

Favourite of heaven, and rather god than man!

and aſſured him, that the commonwealth, which ſhould obſerve his laws, would become the moſt famous in the world.

At his arrival at Sparta, he was nevertheleſs cautious in communicating the ſcheme of polity which he had projected: this he firſt explained to his friends, ſome of the moſt conſiderable men of Sparta, to the number of twenty-eight, and having gained them over to his views, he appointed a day for their appearing in arms in the market-place, to ſupport his deſign, and to ſtrike awe into the unruly and factious. The two kings, Charilaus, and Archelaus grandſon to Doryſſus, were not appriſed of the purpoſes of this meeting, and therefore at the beginning feared a conſpiracy; but being ſoon after undeceived, they promiſed to concur with Lycurgus. It may ſeem ſtrange, that

Lycurgus

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. Lycurgus did not communicate his ſcheme to the kings at the firſt, and to Charilaus eſpecially; but the wonder will ceaſe if we conſider, that the alteration he was to begin with was the abridging of the power of the Spartan kings; which, though really neceſſary to their own preſervation, not leſs than to the public proſperity, princes accuſtomed to command without controul would probably have been averſe from. Matters were now ripe for execution, and their refuſing could have availed little. The reputation of Lycurgus muſt have been great indeed, to carry him through alterations of ſo high a nature: but the extent of his credit will be more evident, when we have ſeen the whole ſyſtem of his inſtitutions. To comprehend this more fully, it will be uſeful to enquire, what was the condition of the Spartan people, when Lycurgus propoſed his new model of government.

SPARTA may be conſidered in a threefold light: either with reſpect to the nature of its domeſtic polity, and the privileges of the people; or with relation to the neighbouring kingdoms, their ſtrength, and the intereſts they purſued; or laſtly, with regard to the manners of the Spartans themſelves. Attention to every one of theſe will be requiſite to enable us to judge rightly of the views of this excellent lawgiver, and of the propriety of his ordinances.

As to *the regal power*, it had been arbitrary and exorbitant until the days of Lycurgus, and had ſeldom known any bounds but what the forcible oppoſition of an oppreſſed people had formed againſt it. We have remarked already, that this very oppoſition to the kings contributed rather to encourage licentiouſneſs and rebellion, than to introduce a due proportion of liberty: the regal majeſty was diſgraced by it, and the people learned to deſpiſe an authority over which they had triumphed

umphed. The firſt attention of Lycurgus therefore was, to eſtabliſh a juſt temperature of government, and to conſtitute ſome power that ſhould preſerve an equal balance between the prerogative of the kings and the claims of the people. For this end he appointed a ſenate, to conſiſt of twenty eight perſons of the nobles of Sparta: and hiſtorians tell us, that they with whom Lycurgus had concerted meaſures at the beginning were the firſt ſenators. Theſe ſenators were to ſit in council with the kings, and to have an authority equal to theirs in all important matters. It belonged to them to convene the people, to receive their demands, and to propoſe to them whatever laws were eſteemed conducive; the people had the right of ratifying or rejecting; and the ſenate was impowered to diſſolve the aſſembly. None under the age of ſixty years were capable of being choſen into this ſenatorial body; their places they held for life, without being ſubject to account; and when a new choice was to be made, the right of election was in the people. In this manner Sparta became a mixed government, and the ſtrength of the whole was conſulted by making the ſeveral parts agree and conſpire together. After ſome time indeed, a material change took place in the ſyſtem, as far as the people were concerned, who loſt the power of propounding, and retained only that of rejecting or aſſenting to what the ſenate propoſed to them: but that Lycurgus meant to inveſt the people with the more valuable privilege of giving riſe to decrees, appears evident from the Rhetra, or pretended oracle, which Polydorus and Theopompus, kings of Sparta in the ſecond generation from Charilaus, impoſed on the Spartan people. Plutarch has preſerved to us an account of this political fraud, and the very form of words which, he tells us, were delivered by the Delphic god: IF THE PEOPLE

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. PLE SHALL MAKE AN IMPROPER DEMAND, THE SENATORS AND RULERS OF SPARTA SHALL HAVE THE POWER OF REJECTING IT. The rights of the people muſt have been of conſiderable extent, ſince there was occaſion to employ this ſacred forgery for the reſtraining of them.

THE next point in conſideration was the *policy, which Sparta was to obſerve towards the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, and the dangers ſhe had to fear from them.* Sparta was ſurrounded by many powerful neighbours, the Meſſenians, the Arcadians, the Argives, nations whoſe ſituation afforded them advantages of which the barren ſoil of Sparta was deprived: ſome of them already beheld with jealous eyes this rival city, and would probably ſpare no pains to oppreſs it. The loſs of independency Lycurgus wiſely looked upon, as one of the moſt dreadful evils that could befal his country; and therefore he planned a ſcheme, that ſhould give her ſtrength and full ſecurity againſt all hoſtile invaſions—not by fortifying her frontiers, and erecting places of defence—but by means much leſs fallible, by rendering the people vigorous and brave; by enuring them from their early years to all the hardſhips of war; by teaching them to dare the moſt trying dangers, and to eſteem it the height of human glory to die in the defence of their country. For this purpoſe he turned their whole genius to the buſineſs of arms, and appointed not one ordinance but what tended to endow them with force of body and intrepidity of ſoul. The male children, as ſoon as born, were to be ſubmitted to the inſpection of the elders of the tribe, and none to be educated but thoſe of a ſtrong healthy complection: all others were caſt into a deep cavern at the foot of the mountain Taygetus. When they were ſeven years old, they were removed from under the care of the mother, and brought

brought up, as children of the ſtate, by ſtrangers free from all the weakneſſes of parental tenderneſs. The manner of their education had all imaginable rcughneſs and ſeverity of diſcipline. They were to be taught to bear the extremities of heat and cold, and to run bareſoot over ſharp and rugged places. They were to be accuſtomed to walk unconcerned through the gloom of the obſcureſt night, and to become ſuperior to all the ſuperſtitious fears that are apt to invade infant minds. Their beds were to be hard and unpleaſant, their garments plain, their food coarſe and ſcanty. They were to ſleep in public galleries, and to eat together in common halls; and both rich and poor, the child of the meaneſt and of the nobleſt birth, fared alike. Each band of boys was under the government of a young man of the age of twenty, who was to obſerve their actions, and to puniſh or reward them according to their diligence and readineſs to obey: they were to be ſent by him on adventurous attempts, to form ambuſcades, and to lie in wait for *plunder*. This kind of ſtealth the laws allowed of: but if diſcovered, they were corrected, not for diſhoneſty, but becauſe they had been wanting in art and contrivance. They were obliged alſo to hard exerciſe: nay their very recreations were a kind of military labour, as hunting on foot, wreſtling, throwing the diſc, bending the bow, whirling the ſling, darting the javelin; and when covered with ſweat, they were encouraged to plunge into the river Eurotas. Then as for pain, they were to bear it with the utmoſt firmneſs. At Sparta was an altar, ſacred to Diana Orthia: here it was the cuſtom to inflict ſtripes on the Spartan youths, in order to form them to conſtancy of enduring. It is amazing to what a degree the ſenſe of honour wrought on thoſe ſtriplings, even in their tendereſt years.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

Hiſtorians

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

Hiſtorians aſſure us, that ſome of them have expired under this bloody diſcipline, without ſo much as uttering a groan. Nay, ſo powerful was this contempt of pain, that we are told by Plutarch, a lad of Sparta, who had ſtolen a fox, and concealed it under his garment, choſe, rather than be diſcovered, to ſmother his anguiſh while the fox was gnawing into his bowels, and actually fell down dead. A people thus educated muſt have been fearleſs of every peril, and invincible in arms.

THE liberal arts, which among other nations are prized as the means of poliſhing and improving the mind, were to make no part of the education of a Spartan: Lycurgus was apprehenſive, they might humanize too much his countrymen, and render them weak and effeminate. The only improvements the young men received were from the converſations of the aged, who entertained them with the recital of the warlike atchievements of their anceſtors, or taught them martial ſongs, in honour of ſome of the Spartan heroes, or in praiſe of manly courage, to inſpire them with a deſire of following the ſame path to glory. Or perhaps ſometimes they propoſed to them *queſtions* full of ſenſe and meaning, ſuch as, Who was the beſt man in Sparta? Whether ſuch an action was to be accounted virtuous? and to theſe they were to return anſwers ſhort and pertinent: hence they acquired the art of expreſſing themſelves with uncommon brevity and ſmartneſs of ſpeech, inſomuch that *a Laconic anſwer* became proverbial.

As to the reſt of their deportment, they were to pay an entire obedience to the commands of their ſuperiors; they were to behave in their preſence with great reverence, to riſe before them, to obſerve them in a compoſed manner, and never to break ſilence but when ſpoken to. Among themſelves

ſelves they were permitted to indulge in raillery, and to try each other with poignant jeſts, which they were alſo in their turns obliged to bear; for to be moved to ill temper by ſuch things, was thought extremely unworthy of a Lacedemonian.

When they roſe to man's eſtate, the ſame ſtrain of polity was continued. Tillage, architecture, and mechanical crafts were conſigned to the Helotæ: the men of Sparta were not to have any employment but the buſineſs of war, to render themſelves expert in military ſcience, and to make proof of their activity and ſtrength. They were to be ſtrangers to all the *ſoftening languiſhments* of love: their courtſhips were to be plain and artleſs, rather with a view to advance the public weal by a numerous healthy offſpring, than for the ſake of gratifying a voluptuous paſſion. To effect this the more ſurely, their maidens, as well as their youngmen, were to be practiſed in athletic exerciſe, to throw the quoit, and pitch the bar: they were taught not to conſult dreſs and luxurious ornament, but to be hardy, ſtrong, reſolute—ſo that inſtead of ſoftneſs of feature and delicacy of frame, *robuſtneſs of body and ſpirit undaunted* were the accompliſhments of the Spartan women. Lycurgus took alſo eſpecial care to render death familiar to Spartan eyes, and to diveſt it of its uſual horrors. Contrary to the Grecian manner, he ordered the dead to be interred within the city, and forbad all tears and lamentations over them. Thus did he, in the view of making his Spartans a martial bold people, proclaim war againſt every one of the feelings of human nature, and endeavour to baniſh out of his commonwealth every paſſion, that might unbend courage, and melt the ſoul into a flow of tenderneſs. Accordingly, the Spartans became remarkable for a ſtrength of mind, not to be broken by any adverſe occurrence. They marched on to certain

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

certain death, ſerene and compoſed. They could bear to be bereaved of their children, without one ſigh. Parents even eſteemed it an happineſs, when their ſons fell in battle. Nay mothers themſelves received this kind of tidings with exultation; and hiſtory has preſerved to us the memorable reply of the mother of a Spartan general, who, when news was brought that her ſon was no more, aſked only, *whether he had died bravely?*

THE *military laws*, which Lycurgus inſtituted, belong to this part of his ſyſtem, and are well worthy of notice. The men of Sparta were not to be admitted to go to war before the age of thirty. Their cities were to be open and unwalled. When they encamped, their centinels were to be without arms. And in battle, Spartans never were to turn their backs before the enemy, whatever the diſproportion of numbers: they that did, were accounted infamous, and became incapable of ever ſerving their country. What yet ſpeaks moſt of all the wiſdom of Lycurgus, they were not to make conqueſts, nor to wage war for any conſiderable length of time againſt the ſame enemy. Plutarch aſſigns the reaſon, becauſe by thoſe means they might render their enemies too well exerciſed in the arts of war. Other motives not leſs cogent might have determined Lycurgus to lay down this maxim of ſtate. It was poſſible the time ſhould come, when Sparta might have no more enemies to contend with. A complete victory once obtained over every power around them, the Spartans would be apt to forget the means that raiſed them to empire; they would moſt probably work their own undoing, by ſinking into effeminacy and the love of pleaſure. To obviate this miſchief, Lycurgus appointed them uninterrupted activity and vigilance for their portion. A further inducement may have been this. Sparta, by ſubduing

duing her neighbours and enlarging her territories, must in the end have weakened and ſubverted her own ſtrength. Whereas, while ſhe abſtained from conqueſts, whilſt ſhe laboured only to defend her own borders, or to prevent the other Peloponneſian ſtates from oppreſſing each other, her forces were kept whole and undivided, ſhe became the arbiter of all the nations near her, and muſt have obtained a much ſurer and far more glorious empire, than any that extent of dominion could have conferred on her. BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

THE laſt great concern, which demanded the attention of Lycurgus, was *the manners of the Spartan people*. This excellent lawgiver was fully ſenſible, how little the wiſdom of his inſtitutions would avail, if not ſupported by the virtue and integrity of the Spartans themſelves. And from the ruinous low condition of ſome of the nations among whom he had been, as well as from the diſtractions under which his own country had lately laboured, he well knew, what were the ſources of thoſe evils which generally lay kingdoms waſte. Theſe are avarice and luxury: avarice, the parent of rapine, cruelty, and injuſtice; and luxury, that leads the way to effeminacy and weakneſs. If the firſt took place, the Spartan ſtate muſt be torn by civil diſſenſions: the rich would become tyrannical and oppreſſive; the poor, diſcontented and ſeditious. And if luxury inſinuated itſelf, it was impoſſible the diſcipline he had eſtabliſhed ſhould be long obſerved. Men ſoftened by pleaſures, could not but eſteem ſuch ſevere ordinances grievous and intolerable. Yet theſe were vices, that had frequently triumphed over the wiſeſt and moſt cautious nations. Lycurgus therefore ſtruck out a new ſcheme, a ſcheme wonderous and hardly credible, if antient hiſtory did not fully warrant the belief of it.

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BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

He firſt perſuaded the landed men to conſent to a new diviſion of lands: thoſe of Laconia he divided into thirty thouſand equal ſhares, and the demeſnes of Sparta into nine thouſand. Each of theſe was ſuch, as to produce yearly ſeventy buſhels of grain for the maſter of a family, and the ſupport of his children and domeſtics, and twelve for his wife, which portion became her dowry,—together with a ſuitable quantity of grapes and olives. To each child, as ſoon as he was examined and approved of by the elders of the tribe, one of theſe ſhares was to be aſſigned.

But notwithſtanding this well concerted eſtabliſhment, the ſeeds of luxury and pride were ſtill lurking in Sparta. There were gold and ſilver, rich furniture, and coſtly ornaments, which were the property of private perſons. Lycurgus then determined to alter entirely the very nature and value of this kind of goods. He forbad the uſe of gold and ſilver, in place of which he introduced *iron* money, a heavy, cumberſome coin: ſo that to lay up or remove a large quantity of this ſpecies of wealth, was a matter of very great trouble. At the ſame time, he baniſhed all curious coſtly arts, that have their end only in adminiſtering to luxury. Their garments were to be coarſe, faſhioned not for delicacy and ſhew, but for warmth and ſtrength. The cielings of their houſes were to be wrought by no tool but the ax, and their gates and doors ſmoothed only by the ſaw. And laſtly, to cut off all occaſion to luxurious and pampered living, he ordered public tables, at which all were obliged to eat; and if any of the higheſt quality abſented themſelves, or even ſeemed to eat with a nice and nauſeating ſtomach, they were fined by the magiſtrate, or at leaſt treated with all the ſeverity of ridicule. The fare which was ſerved at theſe common meals was remarkably

ſimple,

ſimple, and as they tell us, extremely unſavory, except to a Spartan, whoſe appetite was ſharpened by exerciſe and ſcanty diet. To ſecure the economy alſo of the public tables, as well as to render the attendance on them reſpectable, he directed that the Polemarchs (thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their bravery in war) ſhould inſpect over the ſeveral meſſes.

THUS riotouſneſs, vanity, and effeminate pleaſures diſappeared entirely. Every thing in Sparta was made to breathe the ſpirit of frugality and temperance. Their very ſacrifices were to be without pomp or expence; they were to be ſimple, but frequent: 'For,' ſaid Lycurgus, 'he that of-'fers cheap ſacrifices, will have it in his power to 'approach the oftener to the gods; and it is not 'the *price* of our offerings that renders us accept-'able to the immortals, but the piety and purity '-of his heart who offers them.' The ſtatues likewiſe, which adorned their temples, were all in a military dreſs. Even *the goddeſs of love*, whoſe ſoftneſs of figure in the other temples of Greece ſpake but too plainly the luſtful paſſion ſhe was ſuppoſed to inſpire, appeared at Sparta cloathed in armour, and with a countenance ſevere and firm. No inſcriptions were permitted on their monumental ſtones, except in honour of ſuch as had fallen in battle, or of thoſe women who had been engaged in the ſervice of the gods. Laſtly, he enjoined it to them to confine themſelves to their own native ſhores, not to viſit foreign countries, nor ſtudy maritime affairs: for he feared that the example of other nations might corrupt the Spartan virtue, or that, if they became powerful at ſea, they ſhould be tempted to make diſtant conqueſts: which not only, as we have remarked, muſt have divided their ſtrength, but might alſo have given an opportunity to citizens, ſent abroad

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. to govern, of becoming tyrannical and licentious. Theſe were excellent ordinances in the ſcheme of Lycurgus: for it is eaſy to ſee, he did not mean to make the Lacedemonians a wealthy people, with wide dominion, and great extent of power; he meant only to render them virtuous and free, and by rendering them virtuous and free, he thought he made them happy.

No means, divine or human, were omitted by the ſagacious legiſlator, to prevail on the wealthy citizens, eſpecially, to ſubmit to theſe regulations. Many perſons, no doubt, there were of exalted worth in Sparta, who ſeconded Lycurgus in the reformation of their country. We have already ſeen, that he admitted twenty-eight into his council from the very beginning: and theſe, hiſtorians tell us, were the principal of the Spartan nobles, men of weight and influence. Beſides, he called religion to his aid, pretending that Apollo of Delphi had given him theſe laws, with an injunction to impoſe them on the Spartan people.

But with all this, he met with a ſevere oppoſition, eſpecially in his attempt to deſtroy the value and uſe of riches. The opulent and powerful could not endure a project, that deprived them of all luſtre and pre-eminence but what aroſe from ſuperior virtue. In one of the public aſſemblies therefore, they raiſed ſuch a commotion againſt him, that Lycurgus was obliged to conſult his ſafety by flight. There happened an accident on this occaſion, than which nothing could place in a ſtronger light the exalted worth and generoſity of ſoul of this great Spartan. As he was haſtening away from the tumult, a young man named Alcander, more eager in purſuit, came up with him, and while he turned his head to look on his purſuer, wounded him dangerouſly in the eye. Lycurgus, with his uſual calmneſs, turned about, and ſhewed his countrymen his reverend face covered

vered with a gore of blood. Aſhamed and confounded at their own ingratitude, they offered him any reparation, and delivered the actor of the violent deed into his power, to be puniſhed as he judged proper. Lycurgus ordered the young man to attend him home, and to obſerve his pleaſure. There, without uſing the leaſt harſhneſs towards him, he ſo wrought on him by his excellent example—by the extraordinary ſobriety, the love of labour, and the wondrous command over himſelf which he ſhewed in all things—that from, a diſſolute ill-conditioned youth, he became a ſincere and zealous admirer of Lycurgus, and one of the moſt virtuous citizens of Sparta.

GREATLY however as we muſt admire the private character of Lycurgus, there is much reaſon to queſtion, whether his ſcheme of polity be entitled to our full approbation. It is plain, that it was good in many inſtances; ſince, by obſerving it, Sparta flouriſhed for a long ſucceſſion of ages. But ſurely ſome of his inſtitutions may be cenſured without injuſtice. In the firſt place, the Spartans, it ſeems, were to become altogether a *military* nation. For what purpoſe? Was not liberty to be purchaſed, but at the expence of the liberal ſciences, and of all the gentler ornaments of the mind? Is it not poſſible, that a people ſhould be brave, virtuous, happy—and be alſo a literate, polite, accompliſhed people?—Lycurgus took eſpecial care, that the Spartans ſhould be trained up in all the diſcipline of war, that they ſhould be of robuſt body, and of ſoul intrepid. But did he not at the ſame time make them rough, fierce, and cruel? This very people became, as might have been foreſeen, the worſt and haughtieſt of maſters, the moſt inſulting and mercileſs conquerors.—Indeed a kind of inhumanity runs through the whole of Lycurgus' inſtitutions. The ordering to death

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. those infants, which happened to come into the world with a weak and delicate frame, is not even to be thought of without horror. It is paſt conceiving, how a legiſlator could enjoin, or a people ſubmit to a law of ſo extraordinary a nature.—That other cuſtom alſo, of beſprinkling annually the altar of Diana with the blood of their children, and ſuffering ſome of them to expire under the ſeverity of the ſtrokes, what an idea does it afford of the Spartan manners? Compare this *altar of blood* with the *altar of mercy* which the generous Athenians erected, and ſay to which we ſhould give the preference.—Then how ſtrange was it for mothers to exult in the death of their ſons, becauſe they had fallen in battle! Whence came it to be a crime at Sparta, to have natural affection? May we not love our country, and yet drop a tear over the aſhes of the brave and good who die in her defence? Other legiſlators have thought this noble concern adorned a man, and made the heart better. Homer himſelf, who underſtood ſo well the propriety of nature, repreſents his braveſt hero weeping at the remembrance of his beloved Patroclus.—Neither is a greater depth of penetration diſcernible in a political ſyſtem, which confined a nation to the trade of war ſingly, making no proviſion, when they ſhould have rendered themſelves ſuperior to their enemies, againſt their ſinking into ſloth and inactivity. The uſe of arms, and the roughneſs and hardſhips of a military life, were to be the only buſineſs of the Spartan people; and if they ever ſhould become completely victorious, from that day Sparta might date her ruin. The barrier which Lycurgus oppoſed to this obvious danger, by forbidding conqueſts, or long wars with the ſame enemy, was too feeble. Victory is licentious: and a nation, which has once triumphed over the hazards of a dangerous war, and ſees conqueſts open

open before it, will not eaſily reſtrain ambition, will not prefer the ſparing to the utter reduction of its enemies—It becomes us alſo to remark, that Lycurgus ſeems very little to have conſulted the virtue and decency of the Spartan women. Their maidens were allowed to wear looſe garments, to enter into the athletic liſts, and to wreſtle with men. Huſbands were permitted to lend their wives to the firſt that liked them. So that the Spartans were as indelicate in their ſentiments, as they were uncouth and rugged in their manners; and their women were famed for nothing leſs than their modeſty and reſervedneſs.

THE beſt excuſe, that can be offered for theſe blemiſhes in the Spartan code, is the anxiety of its author to ſecure the main purpoſe he had in view, that of preſerving freedom and independency to his countrymen; which object he ſuppoſed could no otherwiſe be attained, but by making them a brave martial nation. No virtue was to be cultivated among them, but what had a tendency to military diſcipline; to render the people rough and adventurous, careleſs of all glory but the glory of arms, inſenſible of every pleaſure and every paſſion that might ſoften and enervate, able to endure the inclemencies of the ſeaſons and the extremities of want; to teach them an entire obedience to their commanders, and to bear minds reſolute and unſhaken amid the moſt trying dangers. And thus far his ſcheme was attended with the greateſt ſucceſs. For ſurely never was there a people more frugal and abſtemious at home, or more to be feared in war: never was there a people more firm under difficulties, or that met the wound of death with more conſtancy and chearfulneſs. As to their obedience to the orders of their country, they practiſed it to the higheſt degree. Generals at the head of victorious armies laid down their command

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

command immediately, if but the meaneſt Spartan brought them the *Scytalè of revocation* from the ſupreme magiſtrates of Sparta. This *Scytalè* was nothing more than a narrow ſcroll of parchment, on which the orders were written. Together with his commiſſion the general received from the magiſtrates a ſhort ſtaff, the exact duplicate of which in length and thickneſs the magiſtrates kept to themſelves, and rolled on it a ſlip of parchment, when they had occaſion to write any orders: the parchment was rolled off, and ſent to the general, who, by applying it to his own ſtaff, was immediately informed what the pleaſure of the government was. And with this ſimple inſtrument did Sparta command more forcibly, than could the mightieſt ſovereign with his band of armed miniſters.

IT is ſurpriſing however, ſince the grand object of Lycurgus was to render Sparta a military nation, that he ſhould have fallen upon the inconſiſtency of limiting the number of his people to thirty-nine thouſand men, that being the number of ſhares of land aſſigned to male children, when pronounced healthy and vigorous. If at any time there were more perſons than there were lots, the uſage was, to ſend the ſuperfluous number abroad in colonies. The ſtrength of any country is the multitude of its inhabitants; of a military one more particularly, whoſe forces muſt be often thinned by the chance of war. But this contrivance that the denizens ſhould not exceed a certain proportion was the more dangerous, becauſe at the ſame time the territory of Laconia was covered with a multitude of ſlaves, who muſt have been far more numerous than their maſters, ſince it was to them that the culture of all the lands, and the exerciſe of every uſeful art, were entruſted. The ill effects of not preſerving the balance of numbers

numbers between theſe two orders of men diſco- BOOK
vered themſelves preſently, eſpecially as the new IV.
ſyſtem of Lycurgus made no change in the fortune Sect. 1.
of the unhappy ſlaves (who were all denominated *Helots*) except that of beſtowing on them a larger portion of wretchedneſs. Nothing but danger was to be looked for at the hands of men irritated by ill uſage, if permitted to encreaſe continually in number. Lycurgus therefore is ſaid to have introduced a method, as well to prevent that encreaſe, as to accuſtom the Spartan youth to the trade of war at the expence of the unfortunate Helots. A number of young Spartans were ſent forth armed with daggers, and charged to lie in wait for the ſlaves, as they were diſperſed abroad in the fields, or returning homeward at night, and to deſtroy the ableſt and moſt warlike of them. Of theſe bloody executions we find too many inſtances in the Spartan hiſtory. It muſt be confeſſed, Plutarch endeavours to clear Lycurgus of the guilt of ſuch barbarity, and pretends it was a political contrivance poſterior to his days. However, other writers inſiſt, that he himſelf was the author of it. It was called κρύπτια or *the ambuſcade*, from the manner in which theſe poor *unſuſpecting* ſlaves were murdered. In after times, to give a kind of colour to this act of inhumanity, it was cuſtomary for the Ephori, at their entrance into office, ſolemnly to denounce war againſt them. But whoever was the adviſer of this execrable expedient, it is certain, the inſtitutions of Lycurgus ſubjected thoſe miſerable men to many dreadful indignities. They were to be forced to drink to exceſs, and then were to be led, by way of ſhew, to the public halls, that the Spartan children might ſee what a beaſtly vice was drunkenneſs. They were neither to ſpeak, nor look, nor walk, as freemen. They were not even permitted to learn any ſongs in praiſe

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

praiſe of liberty and martial courage, leſt they ſhould inſpire them with nobler ſentiments, and elevate them to a deſire of freedom.

THE inſtitution of the Ephori, thoſe magiſtrates of whom we have juſt made mention above, is generally ſuppoſed to have taken place in the reign of Theopompus, who lived three generations after Lycurgus They were deſigned to temper the exorbitant power of the ſenate, and had even an authority over the kings themſelves. They were to be five in number, to be choſen out of the people, and to be elected annually. Their privileges were very extenſive. They could enquire into the conduct of all magiſtrates whatſoever; they could declare war, and make peace; they could raiſe forces, and appoint the funds for their maintenance. But withal no act of theirs was valid, except the five concurred unanimouſly. This new appointment does not ſeem to have owed its riſe to any experienced defect in the inſtitutions of Lycurgus. It is rather probable, that king Theopompus found himſelf, by his own miſmanagement, obliged to call in the aid of theſe new officers, to ſilence the murmurs of the people diveſted by him of their privileges, and to reſtore the balance of power which he had imprudently deſtroyed. For this Theopompus was he, who invented the famous Rhetra quoted above, by which the people were forbidden to propound any thing to the ſenate, and left in poſſeſſion only of the right of admitting or rejecting. From that time, no meaſures could be debated on, but what the *council of twenty-eight* thought proper to bring forward. The ſtorm of popular reſentment, excited by ſo great a change in their polity, gathering faſt upon Theopompus, he ſought a ſhelter to himſelf under the plauſible meaſure of inſtituting the Ephori. And it is certain, theſe magiſtrates for ſome time were of excellent

cellent uſe. They acted as guardians of the laws, and greatly advanced the public peace and proſperity: but at length they degenerated. The exceſſive power, with which they were inveſted, tempted them to the abuſe of it: they trampled under foot the ordinances of Lycurgus, and were the firſt in Sparta that gave the example of luxury and diſſolute manners.

OBJECTIONS have been made againſt the original frame of the Spartan ſenate, which do not appear to be equally well founded with thoſe that lie againſt the admiſſion of the Ephori. It has been urged, that the ſenatorial age was too advanced, ſixty years carrying us beyond the ſeaſon when our abilities are in their full vigour; and that the power of this body was dangerous on a double account, becauſe it was a power not accountable either to kings or people, and becauſe it was enjoyed for life. But it ſhould be conſidered, that if the people had been poſſeſſed of the privilege of electing frequently new ſenators, the balance of power muſt have leaned too much to their ſide, and the authority and dignity of the regal majeſty muſt have ſunk to nothing.—For the age required to qualify a ſenator it may be pleaded, that the conſtitutions of that frugal people laſted much longer than do thoſe of luxurious and effeminate nations; and a Spartan of ſixty had many years of health and vigour yet before him. Then, this is a period of life, at which the feveriſh paſſions have ſubſided, and men are cool and experienced. So that it was not to be apprehended, that ſuch men as theſe, men of noble birth, who had come late to the enjoyment of power, and had been for ſixty years learning obedience and ſubjection to the laws, ſhould readily join in any of the deſtructive ſchemes, either of a fiery ambitious king, or of a turbulent ſeditious multitude. To this we may add, that the honours

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

honours of the Spartan ſenators were limited to their perſons: their ſons did not inherit; they had no way of riſing to the like degree of eminence, but by approving themſelves faithful and virtuous citizens.

A FORM of government, in which the powers of kings, nobles, and people were ſo happily attempered and blended, might have been left to itſelf, and to the experience of its ſalutary effects, without calling in the ſupport of artifice for ſecuring its duration. It is recorded however, that Lycurgus employed a very extraordinary fineſſe to perpetuate his laws. As ſoon as theſe were eſtabliſhed at Sparta, he pretended there was one thing remaining, which he could not impart to them before he had conſulted the oracle of Apollo; and he exacted an oath from his countrymen, that they would obſerve his laws till he returned. He then ſet out for Delphi, but firmly determined never to ſee Sparta more. When he had enquired of the oracle concerning the plan of polity he had introduced, and received for anſwer *that Sparta ſhould be happy as long as ſhe obſerved it*, he put an end to his life by a voluntary abſtinence, and ordered his body to be burned, and his aſhes to be thrown into the ſea, that the Spartans never might be releaſed from the oath they had taken. If this ſtory be true (for ſome hiſtorians are ſilent about it, though too remarkable to be omitted, had it been generally ſuppoſed fact) we cannot refuſe the tribute of admiration to the zeal of the patriot, while as chriſtians we deplore the blindneſs of the pagan, who could perſuade himſelf he was ſupreme lord of his own life, and might diſpoſe of it when and how he pleaſed.

BOOK IV.

SECTION II.

FORTIFIED by that extraordinary form of diſcipline we have now deſcribed, the Spartans did not long retain in remembrance the directions of Lycurgus, 'that they ſhould reſt contented within their own territories, and endeavour only to defend them.' Pretences were not wanting to their ambition; and they ſoon became the ſpoilers and ravagers of every neighbouring ſtate, the *peſt of war* to all around them. This is the light, in which reaſon beholds the glory of all thoſe conquerors who wield the ſword, not of juſtice, but of violence and oppreſſion: and in this light may the Spartans deſervedly be conſidered. It is true, at home they were a virtuous people, hardy, temperate, of minds well governed, and inacceſſible to thoſe paſſions which are generally the bane of human

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

human greatneſs. Nevertheleſs what was all this, but a courſe of diſcipline for war, that they might be prepared to invade and deſolate? Their very virtues were the ruin of their unhappy neighbours. It muſt be confeſſed, the time came when they acted an illuſtrious part, when they fought in a glorious cauſe, for *the common liberties of Greece*. But far different were many of the atchievements of which Sparta had to boaſt, as the reader will be enabled to judge from the detail of wars we are going to enter upon.

SOON after the death of Lycurgus, the Spartans made trial of their force of arms, by attacking the Achaeans and thoſe of Argos. But their moſt memorable expedition was againſt the Arcadians. They were a people, to whom the Spartans ſeem to have borne an inveterate enmity. Perhaps the rich paſturages and rural wealth, which the Arcadians poſſeſſed, tempted theſe frequent invaſions. Whatever was the motive, they marched againſt Tegea, a city near to the borders of Laconia. Charilaus was at the head of the Lacedemonian army: and ſo aſſured were they of victory, that they brought with them chains to bind their future captives. But the Tegeans were determined to ſell dear their liberties: they fought therefore with that vigour which deſpair inſpires; and even their women appeared in battle, and charged the Lacedemonians. This brave reſiſtance was attended with the ſucceſs it deſerved. Charilaus was totally routed: he and a great part of his army were made priſoners, and bound with the very chains they had prepared for the Tegeans. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after, the too generous victors releaſed them, on their taking a ſolemn oath, that the Lacedemonians ſhould never invade Arcadia more: an oath which, hiſtorians tell us,

was

was religiouſly obſerved, until Sparta found it her intereſt to break it. BOOK IV.

ARCHELAUS died about this time, and left the throne to Teleclus: Charilaus likewiſe was ſucceeded by his ſon Nicander. The fate of Teleclus is memorable. He was killed in the temple of Diana on the Meſſenian borders, as he was endeavouring to defend the honour of certain Spartan virgins to whom the Meſſenians would have offered violence. So pretend the Spartans. But the Meſſenians ſay, it was the treachery of Teleclus that occaſioned his death; becauſe they who appeared to be virgins were no other than young warriors in female habits, whom Teleclus had brought with him to this temple in order to ſeize ſome of the principal of the Meſſenian nobles. However the fact may have been, it drew important conſequences, being the avowed reaſon for the Meſſenian war, when the real incentive moſt probably was, the deſire of the Lacedemonians to invade Meſſenia, and to extend their dominion over one of the faireſt countries of Peloponneſus. The care of this war fell to Alcamenes, ſon of Teleclus. Sect. 2.

As ſoon as Alcamenes had raiſed a ſufficient force, he entered Meſſenia, and took Amphea, a place of ſome ſtrength, without the leaſt oppoſition; for ſo expeditious was his march, that he found the gates of the city open, as in times of peace. He nevertheleſs wreaked his utmoſt vengeance on the inhabitants, putting them all to the ſword without diſtinction of age or ſex, even in the midſt of the temples of their gods. Euphaes, who was then on the Meſſenian throne, undiſmayed by this diſaſter, managed the war with great bravery and conduct. He harraſſed continually the Lacedemonian army, and refuſed to venture an engagement, till his ſoldiers had acquired ſufficient ſkill to engage on equal terms. Bef. Chriſt 742.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

terms. At length in the fourth year he offered them battle, and obtained ſuch advantage over them, that they were obliged to retreat into Laconia. Alcamenes did not long ſurvive this ill ſucceſs: he was ſucceeded by Polydorus, his ſon. Nicander dying alſo, the crown deſcended to his ſon Theopompus.

Bef. Chriſt 738.

THESE two princes engaged warmly in the war, and laid waſte all Meſſenia. The devaſtation of their country brought on this wretched people a dreadful encreaſe of evils, the horrors of famine and peſtilence. Borne down by the weight of misfortune, the Meſſenians reſolved to abandon all their cities, and to retire to the top of the high mountain Ithome, where they determined to preſerve their liberties, or die in the defence of them. At the ſame time, a perſon was ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphi, who brought back for anſwer, 'that the war would end in the extermination of 'the Meſſenian people, unleſs a virgin of the blood 'of the Epytidæ,' ſo was the royal family of Meſſenia called, 'were offered up a victim to the 'gods.' The diſtracted Meſſenians complied with the bloody injunction; and Ariſtomenes, a prince of the royal race, ſacrificed his daughter with his own hand. Inſpired with new confidence, the people now promiſed themſelves victory over their enemies; and a numerous army of Lacedemonians appearing before Ithome, a battle enſued, in which both parties fought with inveterate rage and obſtinacy. When it was doubtful which party ſhould prevail, Euphaes, expoſing himſelf too far in the battle, received a wound, and fell: his faithful Meſſenians ruſhed to the place with redoubled fury, and having bravely recovered the body of their dying king, brought him back to Ithome, where he expired in ſome few days. This happened about the thirteenth year of the war.

Bef. Chriſt 729.

IN

In the ſtead of Euphaes, Ariſtomenes was ſeated on the throne, notwithſtanding the claims of many competitors; and he ſoon ſhewed, how well he deſerved the preference. He not only confirmed his countrymen in the proſecution of a war, on the ſucceſs of which it depended whether they ſhould continue to be free, or become ſlaves to the Lacedemonian power; but alſo in every thing he approved himſelf the father of his people. He ſtudied to gain their affections by all the arts of affability and gentleneſs; and even thoſe who had been his competitors for the crown he adorned with diſtinguiſhed honours. Beſides, he courted the alliance of the other Peloponneſian ſtates, labouring much to unite them together againſt the ambitious and cruel deſigns of Sparta: and accordingly, the Arcadians, the Sicyonians, and the Argives eſpouſed the cauſe of the Meſſenians, and marched to their relief. This was a ſeaſonable reinforcement to Ariſtomenes; for the Lacedemonians, aſſiſted by the Corinthians, were preparing to attack him. Ariſtomenes was now in a condition to receive them; and the two armies engaging together, the Lacedemonians were totally defeated. Some ſay, that Theopompus himſelf was taken priſoner, and that he, with three hundred Spartans, were by the exaſperated Meſſenians ſacrificed in the temple of Jupiter of Ithome. But, with all this gleam of ſucceſs, Ariſtomenes beheld his country a ruinous waſte, and his brave Meſſenians reduced to a handful of people; and under theſe circumſtances, he ſaw it was impoſſible but Ithome muſt in the end fall into the power of the enemy. He was alſo terrified by ill-boding omens and menacing oracles, the contrivances of the prieſts, who apparently had ſold themſelves to the Spartan intereſt. All theſe things ſunk the ſpirit of the unfortunate prince: he fell into a deep

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

deep melancholy, and ſlew himſelf at the tomb of his daughter. Ithome was ſoon after taken by the Lacedemonians, and levelled with the ground; and the wretched remains of the Meſſenian people were condemned to a hard and rigorous bondage. At firſt indeed, the Lacedemonians behaved towards them with ſome appearance of lenity, prompted by policy, no doubt: but the natural temper of Sparta ſoon prevailed, and Meſſenia was made to feel all the barbarity of thoſe mercileſs conquerors. The firſt Meſſenian war had laſted twenty years, and perhaps to the tedious length of it may in part be aſcribed the inſtitution of the Ephori by Theopompus: he found it neceſſary to compoſe the minds of the people of Sparta, and to purchaſe peace at home, at any price.

Bef. Chriſt 723.

NOT content with a ſingle enemy, the Spartans had in the height of this war, and about the time when the Meſſenians retired to Ithome, engaged themſelves in a diſpute with the Argives concerning the territory of Thyrea, a city ſituate between Laconia and Argolis. The extraordinary feat of valour, performed on this occaſion by Othryades the Spartan, renders this diſpute worthy of notice. It had been agreed, that three hundred men ſhould be choſen on each ſide, by whoſe ſwords the claim ſhould be decided. They met accordingly, and fought ſo furiouſly, that all the Lacedemonians lay as dead on the field of battle, and of the Argives two only remained alive, who ran to Argos to bring the tidings of their victory. It happened, that one of the Spartans, named Othryades, was not quite dead. After the departure of the Argive champions, this man raiſed himſelf on piles of broken lances, and having drawn together as many ſhields as lay within his reach, he erected a trophy of them, and with his own blood wrote on the uppermoſt theſe words: *To Jupiter the conqueror*

queror, guardian of trophies, Othryades the Spartan erects this: then, unwilling to ſurvive his companions, he ſlew himſelf. The doubtful iſſue of this combat occaſioned a freſh diſpute between the two ſtates, and a new war, in which victory declared itſelf on the ſide of the Lacedemonians.

Soon after the concluſion of the Meſſenian war, Polydorus was treacherouſly aſſaſſinated in Sparta. It does not appear, what provocation could incite the murderer to this; for hiſtorians make very honourable mention of his many virtues, of his moderation eſpecially, and his ſtrict regard to juſtice. And in ſuch high eſteem was his memory held by his countrymen, that they ordered his effigies to be engraven on the public ſeal which the magiſtrates of Sparta were to make uſe of. Not improbably the fierceneſs of the Spartan ſpirit, when it was not allowed to ſpend itſelf in wars abroad, was apt to break out into domeſtic violences of this nature.

Next to Polydorus reigned his ſon Eurycrates; and to Theopompus ſucceeded his grandſon Zeuxidamus. In the reign of theſe two kings a conſpiracy was formed, which had well nigh proved fatal to the ſtate of Sparta. There are very uncertain accounts concerning the riſe of it; though it is plain how dangerous it was reputed, from the extreme and uncommon lenity ſhewn to thoſe who were engaged in it. No puniſhment was inflicted on them; but by a public decree permiſſion was given to them to ſail over to Italy, in order to be ſettled there. Accordingly they got poſſeſſion of Tarentum, where they became a proſperous and celebrated people. By Juſtin this attempt is called the conſpiracy of the Partheniæ, whoſe relation of it carries very much the air of a fable. According to him and ſome others, when the Lacedemonians under Theopompus marched againſt the Meſſeni-

BOOK IV. Sect. 2. ans, they took a ſolemn oath, that they would never return home till they had ſubjugated Meſſenia entirely. The brave reſiſtance they met with delayed them longer than they had expected: and repeated complaints came from Sparta, that, whilſt they were earneſt againſt their enemies, they were careleſs of the encreaſe of the Spartan people. Upon this it was decreed, that as many of the young men as were under age at the beginning of the expedition, and ſo had not taken the oath, ſhould have leave to return to Sparta, and be allowed the promiſcuous uſe of all the unmarried women. The ſons who were born from this commerce were called Partheniæ, or *the ſons of the maidens*. But when the Lacedemonians returned from the war, and the young men found themſelves neglected, having neither parents nor inheritance to claim, they began to form intrigues, and conſpired with the Helots to fall on the citizens in the next general aſſembly. This was a formidable conſpiracy, and might have proved too difficult for the magiſtrates: and therefore was this expedient made uſe of, both to ſave the commonwealth, and to raiſe thoſe unfortunate perſons to a more happy condition. Phalanthus, the firſt adviſer of the meaſure, was appointed leader of the colony. So much of this ſtory is very likely to be fact, that the young men here ſpoken of were a ſuperflux of citizens, who found themſelves without inheritance, becauſe the thirty-nine thouſand lots were already diſpoſed of, and thence were tempted to overturn the conſtitution of a country, in which, though their native land, they experienced the treatment of foreigners.

As to any other tranſactions of theſe two kings, hiſtory is ſilent. Eurycrates was ſucceeded in the Spartan throne by Anaxander his ſon, Zeuxidamus by his ſon Anaxidamus. Their reign was rendered

rendered memorable by a ſecond Meſſenian war. The oppreſſed Meſſenians could no longer bear the galling yoke of Sparta, and the various indignities which the pride of their inſulting maſters impoſed on them. Ariſtomenes, a prince of the royal houſe of Meſſenia, was the principal encourager to this revolt. The page of hiſtory preſents few characters ſo nearly anſwerable to the imagined perfection of an hero. Ariſtomenes was enterpriſing, intrepid, diſintereſted, of ſound judgment, of honour unblemiſhed, and of heart truly faithful to the cauſe of liberty and of his country. His firſt endeavour was to ſtrengthen himſelf by alliances. For this purpoſe he made his application to thoſe of Arcadia and Argos, judging that they could not but behold with jealous eyes the power of Sparta, and would gladly ſeize every opportunity of humbling the haughtineſs of this ambitious neighbour. His conjectures were not groundleſs. They approved his project, and promiſed him aſſiſtance. This ſecond war with Meſſenia broke out in about forty years after the firſt, as Pauſanias relates: Sir Iſaac Newton is of opinion, there was only an interval of twenty-five years between the one and the other. BOOK IV. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 684.

THE firſt place where the Spartans and Meſſenians met in battle was near a certain village called Deræ. Ariſtomenes on this occaſion performed the moſt amazing exploits, and as hiſtorians tell us, behaved with a courage more than human. The Lacedemonians nevertheleſs diſputed the day with great firmneſs. But the Meſſenians, led by the example of their general, bore down all oppoſition, and obtained a complete victory. His grateful countrymen now preſſed him to accept of ſovereign power. A vulgar ſoul might have been elated by the offer; but Ariſtomenes declined it, with this anſwer, 'that he had taken up arms to 'reſtore

BOOK IV. Sect. 2. 'reſtore them to liberty, not to raiſe himſelf to 'greatneſs.' After this victory, that no means might be omitted of ſtriking terror into the enemy, he ſtole into the city of Sparta, and in the temple of Minerva hung up a ſhield inſcribed with theſe words: *Ariſtomenes dedicates this to Minerva out of the ſpoils of the Spartans*—an omen of very terrible nature in thoſe days of ſuperſtition. Affrighted by theſe ſiniſter accidents, the Spartans ſent a ſolemn deputation to Delphi to enquire about the event of the war, and received for anſwer, 'that Sparta
Bef. Chriſt 682 'muſt ſeek a leader from Athens.' The Athenians granted the requeſt, but in ſuch a manner, as plainly argued how lightly they deemed of the intereſts of Sparta. They gave them the poet Tyrtæus for their general; a perſon of mean appearance, lame of a foot, and, eſpecially as to military ſcience, held in the loweſt eſteem at Athens. Notwithſtanding theſe unpromiſing circumſtances, the Spartans, obedient to the oracle, received him, and made ready for war.

ARISTOMENES alſo prepared himſelf, and drew together a powerful force, the Eleans, the Argives, the Sicyonians, and Arcadians being numbered among his allies. The two armies, fired as they were with high reſentments, ſoon found the opportunity of trying the iſſue of a battle. It was bloody and obſtinate: however in the end the Meſſenians prevailed, and the Lacedemonians were routed with great ſlaughter. This defeat occaſioned a deep conſternation at Sparta: the war ſeemed now to have a dark and threatening aſpect, and a general diſpiritedneſs poſſeſſed the people. It was in this conjuncture, that the extraordinary abilities of Tyrtæus began to diſplay themſelves. He reſtored their drooping courage; he recruited their armies with the choiceſt of their ſlaves, and encouraged them to bear boldly up againſt the ſhocks of adverſe

adverſe fortune: he alſo compoſed martial ſongs, which affected the ſoldiery in a wonderful manner, and rouſed them to reſolution and vigour. In the mean time, Ariſtomenes neglected not to improve his late victory: he marched his forces into Laconia, and having taken Pheræ, a town of conſiderable note, he plundered it, putting all that reſiſted him to the ſword, and carrying off a very rich booty. Such a daring inſult Sparta could not brook. A party was immediately ſent out againſt him, whom he ſoon defeated, and would probably have entirely cut off, had he not been diſabled by a wound, which obliged him to withdraw from the field.

THE third year of the war, the Lacedemonians, animated by Tyrtæus' inſpiring verſe, raiſed a powerful army, and once more entered Meſſenia. Ariſtomenes likewiſe, being joined by Ariſtocrates king of Arcadia, reſolutely marched forth to meet them. It is ſaid, that before the engagement, the Lacedemonians (ſo determined were they to conquer or to die) faſtened, each on his right arm, billets inſcribed with their own names and the names of their families; that if they chanced to fall in battle, and their features were diſfigured, they might be known by thoſe marks, and reſtored to the ſepulchres of their fathers. With all this, Ariſtomenes would probably have proved too hard for Sparta; but in the height of the engagement, the falſe Arcadian, who had been bribed by the Lacedemonians to betray his confederates, baſely drew off his men, and, to add to the confuſion of the Meſſenians, forced his way through the midſt of them. Ariſtomenes nevertheleſs, forming the reſidue of his troops into cloſe order, gallantly continued the fight againſt the enemy that poured in on him from every ſide, and ſecured a retreat, though at the expence of the lives of many the braveſt

Bef. Chriſt 682.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

braveſt of his ſoldiers. Weakened by this grievous loſs, he reſolved to abandon all the open country, which with his ſhattered forces it was impoſſible he ſhould defend, and retired to a mountain of difficult acceſs, called Eira. The Spartans now thought the war at an end; and therefore having blocked up the avenues of the mountain, they made a diviſion of the other lands of Meſſenia, and began to cultivate them. But Ariſtomenes, with three hundred choſen men, breaking out from Eira, drove the Spartans before him, and ravaged the whole country. At other times, he penetrated into Laconia, bearing away corn, wine, cattle, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for the ſupport of the beſieged. This obliged the Spartans to leave uncultivated not only the Meſſenian territories, but alſo thoſe parts of Laconia that were neareſt to the Meſſenian borders. Ariſtomenes however, at the head of his choſen band, continued his depredations, and committed frequent ravages in the very neighbourhood of Sparta. Among the places he plundered was Amyclæ, diſtant only about eighteen miles from the metropolis. As ſoon as the Spartan kings had an account of this expedition, they haſtened in purſuit of him; and as the Meſſenians were encumbered with booty, they came up with them before they had reached Eira. Ariſtomenes, whom no chance of things could intimidate, diſpoſed his little party in order of battle, and notwithſtanding the inferiority of his numbers, maintained a long and vigorous conflict againſt the whole Lacedemonian army. At laſt ſpent with his wounds, he ſunk down ſenſeleſs, and was made priſoner, together with about fifty more, all that remained alive of thoſe brave Meſſenians.

THIS illuſtrious captive was led in triumph to Sparta, where the Lacedemonians expreſſed the loudeſt joy at the ſight of a man, who had for ſo many

many years been the terror of their country. As ſoon as he was recovered of his wounds, it was decreed, that he and all his fellow-priſoners ſhould be thrown into a certain deep hideous cavern, there to periſh for want of food; the uſual puniſhment of the moſt flagitious offenders. The ſentence was rigorouſly executed, with this ſingular favour to Ariſtomenes, that he was permitted *to put on his armour*. Three days did Ariſtomenes continue in this place of horrors, amidſt the groans of his expiring countrymen, and the ſtench of corrupted carcaſſes. The third day, when he was almoſt famiſhed, he heard a noiſe, and by the glimmering light perceived a fox gnawing a body near him. With one hand he ſeized its hind leg, and defending his face with the other, he followed the ſtruggling creature, till he found it thruſting its head into a hole: this was the crevice, through which the fox had got in. Ariſtomenes then looſing his hold, purſued the track, and by dint of labour wrought himſelf a paſſage into the open air. Feeble as he was, he haſtened towards Eira, and almoſt miraculouſly reached the place, to the inexpreſſible joy and amazement of his faithful Meſſenians.

When his eſcape was firſt told at Sparta, it was eſteemed a fiction. Ariſtomenes ſoon gave them ſenſible proofs of the truth of it. Falling on their forces that lay before Eira, he ſlew moſt of the officers, with a multitude of private men, and pillaged their camp. The loſs on this occaſion was ſo conſiderable, that the enemy deſired a ceſſation of arms for forty days, under pretence of ſome religious ceremony, but in truth that they might have time to bury their dead. Notwithſtanding the truce, certain Cretans, who were in the ſervice of Sparta, perfidiouſly ſeized Ariſtomenes, as he was walking without the walls, and carried him away

BOOK IV. Sect. 2. away priſoner. Theſe Cretans were ſeven in number. Two of them ran with the tidings to Sparta: the reſt conducted their prize to a lonely cottage, inhabited only by a widow-woman and her daughter. The old woman knew Ariſtomenes, and communicated the diſcovery to the maiden, who being encouraged to the enterpriſe by an extraordinary dream * ſhe lately had, prevailed on her mother to attempt his deliverance. In this view, they plied his guards with ſtrong drink; and when the men were heavy in ſleep, they unbound Ariſtomenes, and armed him with a poniard. He immediately avenged himſelf on the treacherous Cretans, and brought away his deliverers to Eira, where he rewarded them largely, and gave the young woman in marriage to his ſon Gorgias.

Bef. Chriſt 671. It was now the eleventh year, ſince the Spartans had laid ſiege to Eira: this length of time had the virtue of Ariſtomenes baffled all their purpoſes. But it was his misfortune to be always defeated by fraud and treachery. It happened, that a Meſſenian woman had commerce with a Spartan. By the means of this intrigue the Spartans were appriſed, that Ariſtomenes was detained at home by ſome wound; and that the ſoldiers, ſecure of him, had retired from their ſtations on account of the inclemency of the weather. As ſoon as the Spartan commander had received this intelligence, he prepared for the attack, and aſſiſted by the darkneſs of a tempeſtuous night, without any oppoſition ſcaled the walls, and made himſelf maſter of all the Meſſenian poſts. When day appeared, Ariſtomenes beheld his dangerous ſituation. And now began one of the fierceſt engagements hiſtory makes mention of. It laſted three days and two

* Of a lion without claws, bound, and dragged along by wolves, whom ſhe looſed, refreſhed, and furniſhed again with claws; upon which, he immediately tore the wolves to pieces.

nights,

nights, the women themſelves aſſaulting the enemy with inceſſant fury. At laſt, oppreſſed with numbers, and finding it impoſſible to preſerve the citadel, Ariſtomenes the third evening drew off his wearied troops. On the next morning, having diſpoſed his ſlender force with great art, the women and children being placed in the center, he moved on at the head of them directly towards the enemy, reſolved to force his way, or to periſh in the attempt. The wondering Spartans, doubtful of the trial, opened to the right and left, and ſuffered him to march off through the midſt of them. In this manner did the excellent Meſſenian bid farewel to his native land, leaving nothing to the Spartans but a poor waſted, depopulated country.

SUCH exalted virtue ſeldom fails of ſupport: heaven took care of Ariſtomenes. His firſt retreat was to the Arcadians, the antient allies of Meſſenia. They crouded about him earneſtly, and heard his ſtory with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment. Long before, it had been the report in Arcadia, that Eira was taken, and all the Meſſenians exterminated. The faithleſs Ariſtocrates had contrived theſe falſe tidings, to prevent the marching of the Arcadian troops, and had perſuaded his ſubjects that any attempt in behalf of the Meſſenians would now ſerve only to draw down upon themſelves the vengeance of Sparta. It ſeems, he had alſo covered his former treaſons with plauſible pretences, alledging, that menacing omens had obligedhim to retire from the field of battle. Ariſtomenes, without preferring any accuſation againſt the perfidious king, made it his ſole endeavour to excite the Arcadians againſt the ravagers of his country. He propoſed, with five hundred men only, to march to Sparta, and lay it in ruins. The Spartans, he ſaid, were now employed in the pillaging of Eira, and fearleſs of enemies; he could not fail of ſurpriſing them at this juncture, and taking vengeance on that inhu-

man

BOOK IV. Sect. 2. man people for the wrongs done to wretched Meſſenia. A propoſal of ſo bold a nature, made by a perſon well able to execute it, and that argued ſuch firmneſs of courage in the midſt of his broken fortunes, could not fail of moving admiration. The whole aſſembly anſwered him with loud applauſes. Ariſtocrates however by various artifices delayed the execution, and in the mean time ſent to Sparta notice of the intended invaſion. The friends of Ariſtomenes, ſuſpecting the king, intercepted the meſſenger, and before the great council of the nation produced the letters of the Lacedemonians to him, in which all his treaſons were laid open. Never was there ſeen more violent indignation, than appeared on this occaſion. The whole aſſembly roſe up furious againſt their guilty ſovereign, and began to ſtone him, calling frequently on the Meſſenians to aſſiſt their juſt revenge. But the generous Ariſtomenes, far from contributing to his puniſhment, beheld the tragic ſcene with the deepeſt concern, and a face covered with tears: whether it was the fate, or the baſeneſs of this unworthy king, that affected him moſt.

SOME time after this, a prince of Rhodes, enquiring of the Delphic oracle, whom he ſhould take to wife that his poſterity might be a bleſſing to his people, received for anſwer, that he ſhould marry the daughter of *the moſt worthy of all the Greeks*. There was no doubt, who this perſon was—it could be no other than the great Ariſtomenes. Accordingly the prince eſpouſed his daughter, and Ariſtomenes retired with them to Rhodes, where he formed a well concerted ſcheme againſt the power of Sparta: but amidſt his bold-ſpirited projects, he was ſurpriſed by death. The Rhodians raiſed a ſumptuous monument to him, and his memory was held in the higheſt veneration. The gallant Meſſenians, who marched out of Eira under the banners of Ariſtomenes, paſſed over to the

Bef. Chriſt 669.

iſland

iſland of Sicily, where they got poſſeſſion of a city called Zancle, a name by them changed into Meſſene, in remembrance of their loſt country. Poſterity has continued the memory of the fact, by calling the city, with a ſlight variation, Meſſina.

THE ſecond Meſſenian war had extended to the length of fourteen years; three before the fortifying of Eira, and Eira was beſieged eleven years. Of the Meſſenians who remained in Peloponneſus, many had fallen into the hands of the Spartans during the courſe of the war; and there might be ſome diſperſed about Meſſenia, at the time that Eira was taken. All theſe ſhared the ſame fate with the unfortunate Helotæ, being reduced to the hard condition of ſervitude. It is affirmed alſo, that the Spartans laid on them a double portion of wretchedneſs, and made uſe of every ſeverity to afflict and break the ſpirit of a people, who had ſo long preſumed to reſiſt them. The reader will forgive us, if we ſo far depart from the laws of hiſtory as to anticipate events, by informing him, that Meſſenia was raiſed again to liberty, and once more enabled to humble the inſolence of Sparta. But that is a tranſaction far diſtant, ſome hundred years poſterior to the times of which we are now ſpeaking. Bef. Chriſt 368.

ANAXANDER and Anaxidamus were on the Spartan throne, at the concluſion of the Meſſenian war. After their demiſe, the kingdom deſcended to their two ſons, Eurycratides and Archidamus, in whoſe reign there happened not any thing memorable. They were ſucceeded by Leo and Agaſicles, or Hegeſicles. Theſe two kings attacked Tegea, and laid waſte its territories: but the Tegeans, having worſted them in ſeveral engagements, impoſed on them a condition which they well deſerved; they condemned them to reſtore all the improvements, and to cultivate with their own

BOOK IV. Sect. 2. own hands the very lands, which they had ravaged. In their time lived Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak preſently.

NEXT to theſe two kings reigned Anaxandrides and Ariſto, who invaded the Tegeans with better ſucceſs, and in the end brought that brave people into ſubjection. Herodotus pretends, this was owing to the removal of the bones of Oreſtes, which lay at Tegea, and which the Spartans were by an oracle warned to remove to Sparta. It might be a better reaſon, that the Tegeans were overharraſſed and weakened by the continual incurſions of an unjuſt neighbour, whoſe choſen delight was war and deſolation, and who knew not what it was to enjoy the gentler days of peace.

THE manner in which this Spartan prince Ariſto is ſaid to have obtained his queen is too extraordinary to be paſſed over in ſilence. She was a woman of ſingular beauty, and had been the wife of Agetus, a noble Spartan whom the king honoured with diſtinguiſhed marks of favour. One day, in a merry mood, Ariſto made agreement with Agetus to give him whatſoever he ſhould aſk, on condition that Agetus ſhould ſhew him the like compliance; and they both ſwore to obſerve the promiſe. Agetus deſired ſome trifling boon, and was gratified; and then the king claimed his wife. This was a requeſt Agetus expected not: however, he was too much a Spartan to refuſe a demand of the kind; and ſo was his wife raiſed to the throne of Sparta. The king, it muſt be obſerved, had two wives before this, and they were both childleſs: nevertheleſs, ſeven months after his marriage with the wife of Agetus, ſhe was delivered of a ſon. When Ariſto had the news brought to him, it happened to be, as he was on the tribunal with the Ephori. He publickly expreſſed his ſurpriſe,

priſe, and ſeemed to doubt whether he ſhould ac- BOOK
knowledge him: but afterwards he owned him for IV.
his ſon, and deſigned him heir to his kingdom. Sect. 2.
The young prince received the name of Demaratus, *the prayer of the people.*

THE family hiſtory of the other Spartan king Anaxandrides is not leſs remarkable. He was married to a perſon whom he dearly loved, but ſhe was barren. The Ephori on this account preſſed him to divorce her; failing in which endeavour, they inſiſted that he ſhould at leaſt marry another wife, and he was forced to comply. By this ſecond marriage he had a ſon named Cleomenes: and ſoon after he was born, his firſt wife proved with child, and brought forth a ſon who was called Dorieus. Strong ſuſpicions were at firſt entertained concerning his birth: but theſe were effectually confuted in the ſequel, when ſhe was delivered of two other ſons, Leonidas and Cleombrotus. Howbeit, Cleomenes ſucceeded his father; at which preference Dorieus in diſguſt left Sparta, and retired to Sicily. About the time that Cleomenes obtained the crown, Ariſto died, and Demaratus reigned after him.

EQUALLY ſingular with the births of theſe two kings were their ſucceeding fortunes, being clouded over with ſtrange diſaſters, though the beginning of their reign ſeemed to promiſe much glory and happineſs. When they aſcended the throne of Sparta, Athens was in an afflicted ſtate, ſubjected to the yoke of Hippias the ſon of Piſiſtratus. His father had uſurped the ſupreme authority; and the ſon, who enjoyed the ſame power after him, made the Athenians feel all the calamities which the ſway of a jealous cruel tyrant generally brings on. The ſpirit of Athens languiſhed under this oppreſſion; and either baniſhment or the ſword of violence had already deprived her of many of her

moſt

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

moſt valuable citizens. Among thoſe who had fled from Athens, ſome of the moſt conſiderable had made choice of Delphi for their place of refuge, where they prevailed on the Pythian prieſteſs to ſolicit thoſe of Sparta, as in the name of the God, in behalf of their diſtreſſed country. Moved by the oracular warnings, which were conſtantly and earneſtly repeated, the Spartans determined to ſet Athens free. But Hippias having ſtrengthened himſelf with a body of Theſſalian horſe, fell upon their army, and routed them with great ſlaughter. Sparta was not diſcouraged. A ſecond and more numerous army was raiſed, at the head of which Cleomenes penetrated into Attica, and laid ſiege to Athens. The tyrant nevertheleſs would probably have defeated all their meaſures, if a domeſtic misfortune had not contributed to ſubdue him: his children fell into the hands of the Spartans, who refuſed to reſtore them, except he would depart out of Attica in the ſpace of five days. Paternal affection prevailed: Hippias choſe rather to loſe his crown than expoſe the lives of his children. He retired therefore to Sigeum, a city of Aſia the leſs.

HONOURABLE as this enterpriſe appears at firſt to have been for Sparta, their ſubſequent behaviour ſpeaks it to have proceeded more from the ſuperſtition of the times, than the force of generous ſentiments. After Athens was reſtored to her liberties, a contention of intereſts took place between two of her principal citizens, both conſiderable by their wealth and noble deſcent. Cliſthenes by certain popular acts ſoon gained the ſuperiority: and, on the other ſide, Iſagoras called in Cleomenes to ſupport him. The Spartan king gladly embraced the opportunity of extending his power over Athens. Marching thither immediately, as if he had put down one tyrant only to ſet up himſelf in his

his ſtead, he cauſes Cliſthenes, with ſeven hundred families that adhered to him, to be condemned to baniſhment; and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Acropolis, endeavours to ſubvert the conſtitution, and to veſt the whole ſupreme power in three hundred of the factious accomplices of Iſagoras. The Athenians reſolutely oppoſed theſe innovations, and falling on the Spartans, put moſt of them to the ſword, obliged Cleomenes to leave Attica, and recalled Cliſthenes with his friends. Violent and implacable of temper, Cleomenes ſoon returned to the charge, having aſſembled a great army from all parts of Peloponneſus, with which he invaded the Eleuſinian territories, whilſt his confederates from Bœotia and Chalcis ravaged the reſt of Attica. His arbitrary conduct however ſo diſguſted his own party, that the Corinthians drew off their forces, and even Demaratus, the other Spartan king, refuſed to co-operate with him.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

WHEN Cleomenes found that he could not effect his purpoſe by force of arms, and that the Athenians were not to be brought to a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, he repented him ſincerely of the ſhare he had taken in freeing them from the yoke of Hippias. He alſo diſcovered the artifices which had been made uſe of to engage Sparta in the cauſe of Athens. Reſentment and diſappointed ambition urged him on; and he determined at any rate to humble this ſpirited city. For this end he ſtudied to infuſe jealous fears into his countrymen. 'Attica,' he told them, 'was now beginning to flouriſh again. Her 'people were of a bold, aſpiring genius. Who 'could ſay, how ſoon they might be in a condi-'tion to diſpute the empire of Greece, and pre-'ſcribe laws to Sparta herſelf? It was *liberty* that 'had raiſed her to this ſtate of ſplendor; and *ſla-'very and bondage* were the ſureſt means to ſink 'and depreſs her' It ſufficiently appears, how narrow

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

narrow and ſelfiſh was the policy of Sparta, when ſuch unworthy counſels met with acceptance. Hippias was ſent for; and in a general aſſembly of the Spartan allies it was propoſed to eſpouſe his quarrel, and to reſtore the very tyrant whom they had ſo lately contributed to expel. This propoſal was received with amazement; a dead ſilence prevailed for a time through the whole aſſembly; till at length the Corinthians broke out into bitter reproaches, and anſwered the Spartans with ſuch keenneſs and ſtrength of reaſon, that the project was dropped, and Hippias forced to return to Aſia.

CLEOMENES undoubtedly was a man of violence and blood: yet a ſtory is recorded of him by Herodotus, which does him not a little honour. Whilſt he was on the throne, there came to Sparta one of the Aſiatic Greeks, Ariſtagoras, governor of Miletus, in the name of the Ionian ſtates, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the Spartans. He pretended certain complaints againſt the miniſters of Darius then king of Perſia, in vindication of which wrongs he had found means to draw all Ionia into a revolt. The perſon he made his application to, was Cleomenes: him he endeavoured to engage by many vaunting offers, promiſing him no leſs than the reduction of all Aſia. The Spartan liſtened patiently to all the magnificent ſpeeches of Ariſtagoras, together with the deſcription which he gave of the ſplendor and treaſures of Darius, and then aſked, how far it was to the city where this mighty monarch reſided. 'It is a journey,' Ariſtagoras made anſwer, 'of three months.' Cleomenes interrupting him immediately, commanded him to depart from Sparta before the ſetting of the ſun. The Ionian nevertheleſs followed the king in a ſuppliant manner, beſeeching him to hear what he had to ſay, and to diſmiſs his daughter, a child

Bef. Chriſt 501.

of about eight years, that he might deliver a matter of the utmoſt importance. Cleomenes bade him ſay on, without fear of her. Then Ariſtagoras began to tempt the king with large ſums, proceeding gradually in his offers, till he came to *fifty talents:* at which the girl cried out, 'Fly, ſir, or this ſtranger will corrupt you.' Cleomenes ſmiled, and retired. This daughter of his was Gorgo, afterwards wife to Leonidas, the great Spartan king. At Athens, however, theſe Ionian ambaſſadors found a more favourable reception than they had met with at Sparta, the Athenians being ill-diſpoſed towards Perſia on account of Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and brother to Darius, who had intereſted himſelf in behalf of Hippias, and in the ſpirit of an eaſtern deſpot had ſent orders to the Athenians to admit him again, on pain of his diſpleaſure. This inſulting meſſage filled the whole city with the higheſt reſentment: and juſt at this juncture arrived Ariſtagoras. The exaſperated Athenians readily promiſed to concur with the Ionian ſtates, and actually made good their engagement by ſending out twenty ſhips to their aſſiſtance; a meaſure which gave beginning to the famed Perſian war, in which the virtue and magnanimity of the Grecian people ſhone in the fulleſt luſtre. But we ſhall enlarge on theſe things, when we come to the Athenian hiſtory.

Let us return to Cleomenes, whoſe hiſtory is little more than a ſeries of extravagant feats, in which ambition and cruelty appear always uppermoſt. One of the moſt remarkable of his expeditions was againſt the Argives, whom he defeated in battle, and encloſed the vanquiſhed army in a grove conſecrated to ſome deity. The difficulty was, how to deal with them in their ſanctuary. Somehe drew forth by a promiſe of ſecurity, on

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

payment of a ranſom; and theſe he inſtantly put to death: the reſt, who refuſed to truſt a perfidious enemy, he deſtroyed, by ordering the grove itſelf to be conſumed with every thing contained in it. Some time after this barbarous execution, he paſſed over to Ægina, and would have ſeized on the chief perſons of the iſland, under pretence that they had ſtipulated to betray the cauſe of Greece to the Perſian king. The charge appeared ſo ill-founded, that Demaratus preferred a formal accuſation againſt his colleague before the Ephori, though envy, according to Herodotus, was the real promoter of this meaſure. Be it as it may, the accuſation proved fatal to Demaratus. For Cleomenes, having been heard in his defence, and acquitted, ſtirred up Leotychides, a prince of the family of the Eurytionidæ, to call in queſtion Demaratus' birth, and to deny his being the ſon of Ariſto. The raſh words, which the king had ſpoken, were now brought in proof againſt him; and the matter being left to Perialla the Delphic prieſteſs, who had been ſuborned by Cleomenes to proſtitute the oracle to his views, ſhe declared Demaratus ſon to Agetus. The unfortunate prince was therefore compelled to cede the crown to Leotychides; but loving his country with an unchanged affection, he bore the loſs of the regal dignity with uncommon greatneſs of mind, and for a time ſubmitted to fill at Sparta the office of an inferior magiſtrate. At length the inſults of Leotychides forced him away, to ſeek a refuge in the court of Darius, by whom he was received with great diſtinction, and honoured with large poſſeſſions. We ſhall preſently ſee him in the train of Xerxes, the ſon of his benefactor, when that prince invaded Greece.

Demaratus being thus removed, and a partner eſtabliſhed on the throne who was entirely devoted to

to his will, the firſt care of Cleomenes was to revenge himſelf on the Æginetæ, in whoſe behalf the depoſed king had engaged againſt him. He therefore entered the iſland with the whole Lacedemonian army, his collegue having joined him, and obliged the Æginetæ to ſurrender to him ten of the moſt conſiderable of the inhabitants. It might be expected, that the Ephori would not avow this act of injuſtice. To make ſure then of his vengeance, he delivered the priſoners into the hands of the Athenians, their inveterate enemies, chooſing rather to lay aſide his reſentments againſt Athens, than not to indulge his hatred to thoſe of Ægina.

A life of ſo much perfidy and violence was not permitted to end without puniſhment, the cloſing fortunes of Cleomenes being terrible, and well worthy to be attended to. In a ſhort time after his laſt expedition, it was proved, that he had ſuborned the prieſteſs of Delphi to procure the dethroning of Demaratus. Alarmed at this diſcovery, Cleomenes fled to Theſſaly, and thence removed to Arcadia, where not being able to ſubmit to a life of peace, he ſoon began to form intrigues, and having gathered together a band of reſolute men, he bound them under a ſolemn oath, that they ſhould follow him whitherſoever he ſhould lead them. Theſe preparations occaſioned much ſpeculation at Sparta; and it was thought ſafer to pardon Cleomenes, and to recal him home, where the Ephori might narrowly obſerve all his meaſures, than to leave this dangeous enterpriſing ſpirit at liberty to deviſe ſchemes againſt his country. Accordingly Cleomenes was reſtored to the regal dignity. He was not long returned, when the diſtraction of his mind encreaſed to a violent degree, and he became outrageouſly frantic, ſtriking and wounding all that

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

him. This obliged the Spartans to confine him, and he was committed to the care of an Helot. But Cleomenes having by threats forced his guard to furniſh him with a ſword (for, notwithſtanding his low condition, the very voice of *the king* made *the ſlave* to tremble) he began to lay open his fleſh from his ancles upwards, until he came to his belly, which he ripped up, and expired. In this manner did heaven make the hands, which had ſo often rioted in the blood of others, the inſtruments of vengeance againſt himſelf.

Neither was the partner of this man's guilt, Leotychydes, without his deſerved meaſure of retribution. The Æginetæ demanded juſtice againſt him; and ſo exaſperated were the Spartans, that they offered to give him up to their will. But the people of Ægina required only, that he ſhould aſſiſt them with his good offices, to obtain from the Athenians the releaſe of their countrymen. Leotychides went to Athens for this purpoſe, but without ſucceſs: yet he was continued in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and afterwards made ſome figure in the Perſian war. His latter days however were far more wretched than thoſe of Demaratus; for he died in baniſhment, laden with infamy, and under deſerved condemnation for having baſely betrayed his country. He had received bribes from the nations of Theſſaly, the declared enemies of Sparta, whom he had been ſent to chaſtiſe; and inſtead of improving the ſucceſs at firſt attendant on his arms, he had by weak and dilatory meaſures, ſuffered the Theſſalians to ſtrengthen themſelves. Public indignation was the conſequence of this treachery. Being called to account, and his guilty conſcience not permitting him to abide the trial, he fled to Tegea, where he ended his life.

To Cleomenes ſucceeded the illuſtrious Leonidas,

das, who raiſed the Spartan name to its higheſt pitch of glory. From this period the hiſtory of Sparta runs no longer in a divided channel; it breaks into the general hiſtory of Greece. We ſhall now therefore convert our attention to the other great commonwealth of Greece, Athens, the rival of Sparta in military atchievements, and love of the public weal,—but formed in a ſofter mold; the patroneſs of ſcience and arts, and in which every virtue that adorns humanity flouriſhed as in its native ſoil.

BOOK IV.

SECTION III.

BOOK IV. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 604.

THE earlier days of Athens were days of difficulty and confuſion; the people ſtruggling againſt the power of the nobles, and the nobles refuſing to yield up their privileges to the people. The introduction of the Annual Archons ſeemed to promiſe the commonwealth more ſtability. The ſupreme authority was no longer veſted in one perſon; and they who were raiſed to the magiſtracy were ſoon to deſcend again into the rank of ſubjects, and to render an exact and rigorous account of their adminiſtration. This order of government took place, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, in the 43d Olympiad: and Creon, we have obſerved already, was the firſt Annual Archon.

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The office of Archon was ſhared among nine perſons, to each of whom his particular department was aſſigned: but the *title* was given only to one. He was called Archon by way of eminence, for he had the precedency of all the reſt: the higher acts of royalty belonged originally to him, and with his name the year was inſcribed. The magiſtrate next to him was the *Baſileus*, or King: to him was committed the care of all religious matters, with the inſpection of the ſacred families; and on this account was he honoured with the royal title; for in antient times the Kings were the officers of religion, as well as well as of civil polity, and the more auguſt ſacrifices were performed by their miniſtry. The third Archon was the *Polemarchus*, or General. From the name it is evident, that, at the firſt, military affairs were under his direction. But Solon confined his power within narrower bounds: and we find that, in the later times of Athens, his principal office was to celebrate certain religious ſolemnities in honour of the deities of war, and to the memory of deceaſed patriots; to take care likewiſe of a proviſion for the children of ſuch as had fallen in the defence of their country. The ſix other Archons were ſtyled *Theſmothetæ*. It is thought by ſome, that at the beginning they were inſtituted in behalf of the people, to vindicate their rights, and to temper the power of the three firſt Archons. Certainly their name ſeems to imply, that they were the guardians of the conſtitution. Perhaps they were appointed to prevent any ordinances from taking place, that might abridge the people of their liberties, and to impair the public proſperity.

How ill ſoever theſe new regulations might be reliſhed by the nobles, who mourned their loſt privileges, and the encreaſing conſequence of the people,

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

people, yet the general weal was evidently advanced by them, and one thing only ſeemed wanting to the conſtitution of this ſtate. There were no laws at Athens; unleſs we ſhould extend that name to the few and incomplete regulations, which had taken place in her infant ſtate, or as the poets ſtyle it, in the days of Ceres, when the firſt introduction of tillage occaſioned boundaries and rules of property to be eſtabliſhed. In moſt caſes, the conſcience of the magiſtrate was in the place of law: a power eaſily abuſed, and always ungrateful to a people fond of liberty. Theſe inconveniences obliged them to elect a lawgiver; and to this important office was Draco appointed, a perſon of high character for probity and unblemiſhed manners. But though probity and unblemiſhed manners are excellent qualifications ſurely for the truſt of preſcribing laws to a people, yet in order to win over the affections of the ſubject, and to ſecure his ſubmiſſion to government, juſtice muſt not be inflexible. Draco forgot this. All his ordinances were arrayed in terrors, and the leaſt tranſgreſſion was to be puniſhed with death. His extreme ſeverity fruſtrated the purpoſes of the legiſlator. His inſtitutions fell into diſuſe; and the Athenians choſe rather to leave crimes unpuniſhed, than to renounce the dictates of mercy. After a ſhort trial, the bloody laws of Draco drew down the public deteſtation on their author, who found himſelf under a neceſſity of baniſhing himſelf from his native country. It may be, the Athenians ſuſpected him of a deſign to break the ſpirit of the people by frequent executions, and to favour the introduction of an arbitrary government, by ſubjecting the lives of all men to the power of the magiſtrate; ſince under ſo rigorous an

an economy it was ſcarcely poſſible, but in ſome inſtances every Athenian muſt render himſelf obnoxious.

THE domeſtic troubles, that followed this firſt experiment of legiſlation, left the Athenians little leiſure for chooſing a new lawgiver. Cylon, an Athenian of noble birth, had encreaſed the number of dependants which his quality and wealth procured him, by a marriage with the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. His ambition kindling with ſo many advantages, he determined to free himſelf from the mortifying yoke of popular government, and to invade the ſovereignty of Athens. He had conſulted the Delphic oracle as to the fitteſt time for executing his purpoſe, and had received for anſwer, 'When the Athenians 'were employed in celebrating the higheſt feaſt of 'Jupiter.' This they concluded to be the feaſt of the Olympic games: and indeed it was an inviting opportunity, as a great concourſe of Athenians generally reſorted to this feſtival. In obedience therefore, as they deemed, to the oracle, at the ſolemnizing of the next Olympiad (which was the 45th) Cylon and his party ſeized on the Athenian citadel. Immediately Megacles, the Archon of that year, got together a conſiderable force, and preſſed the conſpirators with ſo much vigour, that Cylon and his brother were obliged to conſult their ſafety by flight, and of his aſſociates as many as could took ſanctuary in the temple of Minerva. Megacles laboured much to perſuade them to come down, and leave their cauſe to the iſſue of a legal trial. At length they conſented, but with this precaution: they tied a cord to the image of Minerva, and held by one end of it, to ſhew that they ſtill claimed the protection of the goddeſs. But unfortunately, as they came down, the cord happening to break, Megacles and they with him

Bef. Chriſt 599.

BOOK IV. Sect. 3. him took advantage of the accident, which they explained into an intimation, 'that the goddeſs 'had now rejected them,' and falling inſtantly on them, put moſt of them to death, ſome even at the altars, whither they had fled for refuge. This ſevere execution proved the cauſe of violent diſtractions. Cylon's friends made it their care to intereſt the ſuperſtition of the people againſt the Archon, and to perſuade them, that the majeſty of the gods had been violated. The prieſts alſo, glad of this fair occaſion of exerting their authority, zealouſly engaged in the vindication of their polluted temple, and execrated Megacles and all thoſe concerned with him. As to the miniſters of Delphi, who had promiſed ſucceſs to Cylon, they readily found means to ſave the credit of their oracle, by pretending, that the time had been miſtaken, which was not, as Cylon imagined, the Olympic ſolemnity, but the feaſt of the Diaſia, which it was cuſtomary to celebrate annually at Athens in honour of Jupiter the *propitious*. Such was the faith of thoſe deceitful oracles!

THE people of Megara, who were in the intereſts of Cylon, declared war againſt the Athenians, and having taken Niſea on the Saronic gulph, paſſed over to Salamis, and drove the Athenians out of it. Theſe laſt proſecuted the war with great earneſtneſs: but, after many grievous loſſes, they were obliged to give up all hopes of recovering the iſland; and ſo dejected were they at their ill ſucceſs, that a decree was made, by which the very propoſing to attempt it was rendered capital. There was nevertheleſs a perſon found, hardy enough to adventure his life to ſerve his country. This was Solon, a name ſo conſpicuous on the rolls of fame for his abilities as a lawgiver. He was a perſon of noble extraction, and ſaid to be lineally deſcended from Codrus:

Codrus: and though his fortune was not equal to his birth, yet did his many eminent virtues abundantly compenſate that defect. The better to compaſs his deſign, he counterfeited madneſs; and going into the public aſſembly in a garb ſordid and ridiculous, he began to addreſs the people in verſes he had compoſed for the occaſion, upbraiding them with their poorneſs of ſpirit, and encouraging them to renew the war. A number of young Athenians crouded about the uncouth orator; among the reſt Piſiſtratus, a nobleman of great figure, a near relation of Solon's, and who probably was privy to the ſcheme. They loudly applauded the propoſal, and exhorted their fellow citizens to obey his directions. Theſe exhortations, together with the elegance of the verſes, and the affecting manner in which they were ſpoken, determined the people. The decree was repealed: and Solon having contrived a ſtratagem to ſurpriſe the Megarenſes, or according to others, having by his prudence brought about an accommodation, Salamis was recovered.

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

THIS acquired Solon much honour. But his fame was yet more highly advanced by a conſiderable ſervice which he performed to the common cauſe of Greece. The people of Criſſa had levied tribute on thoſe that came to conſult the Pythian god, and not content with theſe impious exactions, had even made incurſions into the Delphic borders, and attempted to pillage the temple. Such daring ſacrilege raiſed the indignation of Solon. He applied to the Amphictyonic ſtates, and procured an army to be ſent againſt the Criſſeans, of which Eurylochus of Theſſaly, Cliſthenes prince of Sicyon, and Alcmeon, the ſon of Megacles, were appointed generals: and he himſelf alſo accompanied them. The Criſſeans were not intimidated; they prepared for their defence: and that the

BOOK IV. Sect. 3. the protection of heaven might not be wanting to them, they even obtained an oracle that ſeemed to portend them the victory. The purport of it was, that Criſſa never ſhould be taken, *until the ſea ſhould waſh the territories of Delphi*: and the territories of Delphi were many miles diſtant from the ſea ſhore. This declaration gave courage to thoſe of Criſſa, and proportionably diſpirited the confederate army. At length, when the ſiege had now continued ſeveral years, it occurred to Solon, that the oracle might admit of a more happy interpretation. He adviſed the Amphictyones ſolemnly to devote to the Delphi god all the country of the Criſſeans: 'and then,' ſaid he, 'ſhall the territories of Delphi be waſhed by the ſea, and the 'oracle be fulfilled.' This expedient proved favourable to the Amphictyones. Criſſa was taken ſoon after, and an end put to the war, which is called by ſome the firſt Sacred War.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe ſucceſſes abroad, the Athenian affairs were ſtill in confuſion. The Cylonian faction maintained a laſting enmity againſt the party of Megacles; and the prieſts, who all acted in conjunction with the former, were continually repreſenting, that ſome heavy guilt impended over the city, and demanded expiation. About the ſame time, a peſtilence broke out at Athens. There were alſo prodigies and ſtrange appearances ſeen frequently, owing doubtleſs to the artifices of the prieſts, aſſiſted by the diſtempered fancies of the ſuperſtitious people. However Solon evidently perceived, that theſe diſtractions never could have an end, unleſs means could be found to free their minds from the horrors they laboured under, and to perſuade them that *the gods were placated*. For this purpoſe, he prevailed on as many of the aſſiſtants of Megacles as were living, to ſubmit to a trial, and when condemned to baniſhment,

niſhment, to depart peaceably out of the Athenian territories. He alſo cauſed Epimenides of Crete to be ſent for, a man in high repute for ſanctity, and famed for his ſkill in expiations, who proved of infinite uſe to the Athenian people. Not only did this perſon liberate them from the dread of divine vengeance by the ſolemn expiatory ſacrifices which he offered in their behalf, and rendered the city more healthy by cleanſing and purifying it, but alſo he taught the people to entertain happier notions of religion: he inſtructed them to court the favour of the gods, not by pompous oblations, but by piety and holy manners; he diſpoſed their minds to unity and peace, and made them more flexible and patient of controul.

THESE ſage leſſons ſeem to have prepared the way for eſtabliſhing the Athenian ſtate on a firmer baſe. The people now ſaw what had been the principal cauſe of their late calamities, and began to be convinced, that the commonwealth could not proſper, till their civil rights were ſecurely ſettled, and all orders of men chearfully conſpired to advance the public good. In theſe diſpoſitions, all men turned their eyes on Solon: both rich and poor had an entire confidence in his probity, and were willing to ſubmit the deciſion of all their claims to his wiſdom. So that by unanimous conſent he was choſen ſupreme magiſtrate of Athens, with unlimited power to enact new laws, and model the conſtitution. A ſituation trying and hazardous: but this excellent perſon had both the abilities and the integrity this momentous charge required. Plutarch tells us, that at the beginning many of the chief men at Athens were extremely urgent that he ſhould make himſelf king; but he rejected the propoſal with the utmoſt indignation. Virtue was to him of more value than all the ſplendor of regal dignity. Bef. Chriſt 593.

THE

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

THE firſt act of power Solon performed, after being inveſted with the legiſlative authority, ſhewed the goodneſs of his heart. It was in favour of the meaneſt rank of citizens. There was a prodigious inequality of fortune among the Athenians, and the avarice and haughtineſs of the rich had reduced the poor to the loweſt degree of wretchedneſs. Not only their lands had been ſeized by their mercileſs creditors, but they themſelves alſo were frequently ſold as ſlaves. Many of them had been obliged to purchaſe their liberty by giving up their own children to bondage, or to ſeek a refuge in other climes from the perſecution of thoſe cruel exactors. Theſe evils had been of long continuance, and had occaſioned loud and grievous murmurings. Solon therefore enacted, that the marks of mortgaged lands ſhould be removed, all debts diſcharged entirely, and every Athenian reſtored to liberty and the enjoyment of his country. The moneyed men were much diſpleaſed at this; and the poor were far from being contented: they expected a new diviſion of lands ſhould have taken place, and that the rich would be obliged to reſign ſome part of their wide poſſeſſions. But in a ſhort time Solon convinced both parties of the expediency of this ordinance; and in proof of the general ſatisfaction, a public feſtival was celebrated, called the feaſt of the *Seiſactheia* or *diſburthening*, becauſe the people were now ſet free from the heavy burthen under which they had laboured.

PLUTARCH relates a circumſtance in this affair, which may ſerve to ſhew, how nicely men in exalted ſtations ſhould ſcan thoſe whom they admit to their confidence. Solon had certain intimates, to whom every ſecret of his heart was open; and to them he communicated his plan of cancelling all

all debts, but of leaving land eſtates entire. Thoſe falſe friends ſacrificed Solon's credit to their own private intereſt, by immediately borrowing large ſums, with which they purchaſed lands. The deceit became manifeſt when the new law was promulged, and occaſioned great indignation. But the legiſlator ſoon gave abundant proof of his uprightneſs, by remitting five talents which he was known to have lent; and the whole infamy fell on thoſe worthleſs men, who were ever after ſtigmatized with a name of ſingular reproach.

'WHEN he had in this manner exerted himſelf in favour of the indigent and oppreſſed, he next turned his thoughts to modelling the commonwealth. The ſupreme authority had indeed been portioned out among nine perſons; but the people were ſtill entirely excluded from all ſhare in the government, as the whole magiſtracy of Athens remained in thoſe of extenſive fortune and noble birth. Solon wiſely conſidered, that a more equal diſtribution of power might add to the public ſtrength. To this end he formed the citizens into different claſſes, according to the difference of eſtates. In the firſt claſs he ranked thoſe, who were worth five hundred meaſures both in wet and dry fruits: and theſe were the nobles of the higheſt quality, who were obliged to pay a talent into the public treaſury. In the ſecond claſs thoſe were reckoned, who were worth three hundred meaſures: theſe were nearly of the ſame dignity with the knights in the commonwealth of Rome; they were to pay half a talent to the treaſury, or to furniſh a horſe for military ſervice. The third claſs conſiſted of ſuch as were worth only two hundred meaſures; two of whom were together to furniſh a horſe: and this was the body of the Athenian gentry. Out of theſe three orders he appointed all the officers of the ſtate to be choſen.

THE

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

THE remainder of the people he formed into one claſs; and theſe were the vaſſals, or perſons labouring for hire. They were rendered incapable of bearing any office; but in return they enjoyed the right of voting in the General Aſſembly. This at firſt ſeemed an inconſiderable privilege, though afterwards it was found to be a power of the greateſt extent: for to this aſſembly all who pleaſed had a liberty of appealing, in every caſe; ſo that by degrees the people, though not magiſtrates themſelves, became the judges of magiſtrates, lords of the ſtate, and final arbitrators of all controverſies. No appointment made by the ſenate was valid, till ratified by their decree: all honours depended on their ſuffrages; and to their examination was the conduct of even the Archons themſelves ſubjected. It is clear therefore, that the government at Athens was in truth a democracy. Plutarch intimates, that Solon found ſo ſtrong a bent to liberty in the people, he did not think it ſafe to reſiſt it; and therefore he introduced this form of government, as the only one the ſpirit of the Athenians would ſubmit to. It may be alſo, that he ſuſpected the tyrannical temper of the men of wealth, whoſe pride and cruelty had already brought Athens to the brink of deſtruction.

BUT however Solon did not give up the guidance of the ſtate to the will of the giddy multitude. He appointed two great Councils, that might ſerve as anchors to the commonwealth, and break the violence of popular tumult. The firſt of theſe was the ſenate of the Areopagites, ſo called from Areopagus, or Mars' hill, the place where they held their ſeſſions. This court owed its inſtitution to Cranaus, one of the firſt Athenian kings, and was the ſupreme court of Athens for many ages: but Draco, in his legiſlature, transferred the moſt important

important cauſes to the court of the Ephetæ; ſo that from that time the Areopagites loſt much of their former ſplendor. Solon reinſtated them, with a conſiderable encreaſe of privileges. He ordered, that all trials for murder, or attempts to murder, ſhould come under their cogniſance. He aſſigned them the cuſtody of the laws, and the inſpection of the public funds. The care of young perſons of both ſexes belonged to them. They were the guardians of manners. All matters of religion, blaſphemy againſt the gods, contempt of the holy myſteries, and the introduction of new ceremonies into divine worſhip, were referred to their judgment. They were to puniſh all the profligate and impious; and to enquire by what means each man ſupported himſelf, whether by induſtry and honeſt labour: for idleneſs was ſeverely puniſhed at Athens, as a crime of the moſt dangerous conſequence to the national proſperity, and the parent of rapine and all kinds of evil arts. BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

THE better to anſwer purpoſes ſo important, this tribunal was to be compoſed of the moſt venerable perſonages, men of tried characters and exemplary virtue. Solon ordered, that none but the Archons, who had diſcharged their office blameleſs, ſhould be members of it. If any of the ſenators were convicted of the leaſt immorality, they were expelled immediately. Even the ſitting in a public houſe was ſufficient to diſqualify them. Their words, their geſtures, their very looks were to be ſolemn and compoſed. To laugh in this aſſembly was an act of levity, for which there was no forgiveneſs. And it was expreſsly forbidden, that an Areopagite ſhould write a comedy. Such an extreme delicacy of virtue did even pagans require in thoſe that were to be intruſted with the adminiſtration of the laws.

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

THEIR method of proceeding likewiſe ſhewed the niceſt regard to juſtice. As ſoon as the ſenators were met together, they divided themſelves into committees, each of which had their particular cauſes appointed to them: and this deſignation was determined by lot, after they were come into court; that the judges, not knowing what cauſes ſhould fall to their ſhare, might be ſecure againſt all attempts of bribery or favour. They were to hear cauſes by night, and in the dark, that they might not be affected by ſeeing either the plaintiff or defendant. They were to ſit in the open air: a cuſtom indeed common to all the courts that took cogniſance of murder; for in thoſe days ſo execrable was the perſon of a murderer, that it was eſteemed a pollution to be under the ſame roof with him. They who pleaded before them were to ſpeak to the point directly, in a ſtyle ſimple and conciſe: they were not allowed to ſtudy any of the ornaments of ſpeech, nor to preface their orations with artful and inſinuating compliments. When the ſenators gave ſentence, they caſt their ſuffrages into urns, placed in ſuch a manner, that none ſhould know on which ſide they voted. It is remarkable, that this cuſtom was aboliſhed in the days of the Thirty Tyrants, as too favourable to the cauſe of liberty.

SUCH was the court of Areopagus, whoſe inflexible uprightneſs was the great boaſt of antiquity. It was accounted the moſt ſacred tribunal of the Pagan world. Even foreign ſtates ſubmitted their diſputes to its deciſion: and Demoſthenes tells us, that, to his days, it was never known to have given one iniquitous judgment. It is not to be wondered therefore, that Solon ſhould commit to this court a power of controul over the aſſemblies of the people: they were to have a vigilant eye on the popular proceedings, and had power to reverſe the ſentence of an aſſembly, if the people, often

often raſh and prejudiced in their judgments, were found to have acquitted the guilty, or condemned the innocent. So that theſe excellent men were ſtationed, as faithful centinels, to watch over the preſervation of their country, and to defend the laws from all infractions whatſoever. On theſe accounts it is, that the diminution of honours, which this court ſuffered in the days of Pericles, has been looked on as one of the principal cauſes of the decay of the Athenian glory.

THE other ſenate, which Solon inſtituted, had yet a more direct influence over the popular aſſemblies; and the very deſign of it was to moderate and reſtrain the impetuoſity of the multitude. This was the Senate of Four Hundred, or rather of Five Hundred, as it was called from the time of Cliſthenes, who added one hundred to the number which Solon firſt ordained. It will be neceſſary to have a right notion of this great council, as it was the main foundation on which Solon raiſed his fabric of government. The members of it were to be elected annually, one hundred out of every tribe, according to Solon: but when Cliſthenes had encreaſed the number of tribes from four to ten, and the ſenate was made to conſiſt of five hundred perſons, then each tribe furniſhed fifty. The method of election was this. The preſident of each tribe gave in the names of all the perſons in his diſtrict, who, after a ſevere examination into their manners and courſe of life, appeared the moſt worthy and capable of the ſenatorial office. Theſe were engraven on ſmall plates of braſs, and caſt into a veſſel contrived for the purpoſe: into another veſſel was put the like number of beans, of which fifty were white, and the reſt black; and they, whoſe names were drawn out with the white beans, were admitted into the ſenate. After the election of the ſenators, the

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

names of the ten tribes were thrown into a veſſel, and into another ten beans, of which one was white. The tribe, whoſe fortune it was to be drawn out together with the white bean, preſided firſt; the reſt, in the order in which they were drawn out of the veſſel. Each tribe preſided thirty-five days; ſo that the ten tribes might nearly complete a lunar year, which, according to the Attic computation, conſiſted of 354 days: three hundred and fifty days therefore were required, hat each tribe might perform its courſe; the four ſupernumerary days were employed in the election of magiſtrates. The preſiding fifty were called *Prytanes*: and to prevent confuſion, this arrangement was made. The time of their preſiding was divided into five weeks: each week ten Prytanes preſided, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Proedri*; and out of theſe one was every day appointed by lot to be firſt preſident: ſo that of the Prytanes of the week three were excluded from this honour. The preſident of the day was called *Epiſtates:* to his care were committed the great ſeal of the commonwealth, the keys of the citadel, and the keys of the exchequer. This was an office of ſuch importance, that by the laws no man was permitted to continue in it above one day, or to be elected into it a ſecond time.

THE ſenate of five hundred was convened once every day, feſtivals excepted, and even oftener, if occaſion required. Here audience was given to all, who had any thing to propoſe that concerned the commonwealth. If the thing propoſed appeared to be of moment, it was engraven on tablets, and referred to another meeting, that every ſenator might conſider the point maturely, before the time of debate came on. In the deliberations of the council, all the ſenators had full liberty to ſpeak their opinion, and to ſupport it by reaſons;

and

and when they voted, it was, as in the Areopagus, privately, by beans caſt into a veſſel, the white affirming, the black denying. If the majority was found to approve of the propoſal, it was enacted into a decree; if not, it was rejected entirely, not to be reſumed during that ſenate. Theſe decrees of the ſenate were afterwards to be propounded to the general aſſembly of the people, that they might receive ratifications; otherwiſe they were in force only during that year, till the election of a new ſenate. It was in this view chiefly Solon inſtituted this court, that the people might not, by the impulſe of eloquent and artful ſpeakers, be hurried into haſty reſolutions, but that all the meaſures of government ſhould be the reſult of deliberate thought and calm counſels.

BESIDES this great end of their inſtitution, theſe ſenators had alſo ſeveral important offices aſſigned to them. They were inſpectors of the public priſons; they took care of thoſe reduced citizens, that were maintained by an allowance out of the exchequer; and the accounts of magiſtrates, at the expiration of their office, were laid before them. In ſucceeding times, when the maritime power of Athens began to encreaſe, they were alſo the commiſſioners of the navy, and provided for the building of new ſhips of war. Such was the attention of the Athenians to this important article, that a law was made to deprive thoſe members of the ſenate, during whoſe adminiſtration no ſhips had been built, of the honour of wearing a crown at the public ſpectacles, the uſual reward of ſuch as had ſerved their country faithfully. The decree was probably enacted ſoon after the engagement at Salamis, when naval glory became the darling purſuit of the Athenians.

BUT the court of *dernier reſort* was the General Aſſembly of the people. It was held regularly four

BOOK IV. Sect. 3. four times during every Prytaneia, that is, in the ſpace of thirty five days, or more frequently, if any weighty unexpected occaſion required it. Here all the freemen of Athens, ſuppoſed to have been about twenty thouſand, had a right of voting, with the exception of thoſe, who had been irreverent to their parents, or guilty of contempt to the gods. It was the opinion of the wiſe Solon, that a man vicious in private life was not a ſafe perſon to be truſted with the concerns of his country.

MANY were the precautions employed to preſerve order among the multitude. Some time before their meeting, a placart was affixed on the ſtatues of the *Eponymi*, in a place of general concourſe, announcing the matters that were to be propoſed to them. There were officers, whoſe duty it was to remind the people of the laws of their country, and to hinder them from decreeing any thing ſubverſive of the public good. One of the tribes was appointed to take care of the ſpeaker's pulpit, and to defend the commonwealth againſt the artifices of popular and ambitious orators. No man was allowed to make an oration, till they had ſpoken who were paſt the age of fifty; and even then, all under thirty years were excluded. Religion alſo was called in, to render their debates the more awful and ſerious. The omens were obſerved. The place where they aſſembled was purified with the blood of victims: and when the expiation was ended, one of the ſacred officers made a ſolemn prayer for the proſperity of the ſtate, and the ſucceſs of their deliberations, concluding with a tremendous execration againſt all thoſe who ſhould give their ſuffrages for lucre, or endeavour any thing in that aſſembly to the impairing of the public welfare.

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In ſpite of theſe proviſions however, there is reaſon to believe, that much perturbation frequently took place in ſo numerous an aſſembly; at leaſt we are ſure, that it did ſo in the days of Demoſthenes. We are told this great orator was wont to exerciſe himſelf by ſpeaking on the ſea-ſhore, that accuſtomed to the noiſe of the waves, he might be undiſmayed at the ſhouts and hoarſe murmurs of the people. But what was matter of more ſerious apprehenſion in an aſſembly of this kind, was the influence of corrupted counſellors, who being ambitious of leading the people, might purchaſe their favour at the price of the public proſperity. And to this influence we are to aſcribe thoſe laws, which, in the later times of Athens, complimented away to the people the funds that ought to have been expended in providing for the public defence, and in the ſtead of well-diſciplined armies and formidable fleets, gratified them with ſhews and theatrical entertainments.

The ſuffrages of the people in their aſſembly were generally given by the holding up of hands: they who were for the affirmative, held them up: whence, in antient authors, *to hold up the hand* ſignifies to ordain and eſtabliſh. But when the matter propoſed was of high moment, and the great perſons of the commonwealth were deeply intereſted in the fate of the queſtion, it was cuſtomary to vote by ballot, that the pooreſt citizen of Athens might enjoy his liberty unreſtrained. The ſame method, as we have ſeen, was in uſe in the Areopagus and the council of five hundred, as well as in moſt of the ſmaller courts of Athens. This way of voting was by *beans* or *pebbles*, black and white: the *black* denied, the *white* affirmed; and in criminal caſes, the *white* abſolved, the *black* condemned. If there was the ſame number of white as of black, the law leaned to mercy, and pronounced the priſoner not guilty.

BOOK IV. Sect. 3. CRIMINAL cauſes came before the popular aſſembly only in caſes of appeal. Their peculiar province was to debate and determine about the high matters of government, peace and war, alliances with foreign ſtates, raiſing the ſupplies, appointing the proper funds, making of new laws, and abrogating ſuch as were become uſeleſs or detrimental. The only puniſhment it belonged to them to inflict was that of Oſtraciſm, if the name of puniſhment may with propriety be aſcribed to a ſentence which affected neither the life, nor eſtate, nor reputation of the perſon concerned. Oſtraciſm, or the *tile puniſhment*, was the voting into baniſhment for ten years any Athenian whoſe diſtinguiſhed worth had rendered him formidable to liberty. It had its foundation in the jealouſy inſeparable from democratical ſtates, and was intended to ſecure the conſtitution againſt the attempts of all ſuch citizens, as had raiſed themſelves above the common level by great and glorious actions, by their eloquence, their liberality, or even by their riches. The ſentence againſt theſe *offenders by ſuperior worth* was always decreed in the General Aſſembly, at which, on ſuch an occaſion, it was required that not leſs than ſix thouſand voters ſhould be preſent. The practice was, that each member of the aſſembly ſhould write on an *earthen tile* (in Greek called *oſtracon*) the name of the party he would have condemned; when he, whoſe name was written on the greater number of tiles, was ſentenced to baniſhment. The inſtitution is ſaid to have been as old as the days of Theſeus: if ſo, it was ſeldom employed before the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth. It ended at laſt by the policy, it is ſaid, of Alcibiades, who in conjunction with Nicias contrived to make it fall on one Hyperbolus, a mean fellow diſtinguiſhed for nothing but informing againſt his betters; from

from which time the puniſhment fell into diſuſe, as too reproachful to be inflicted on perſons honourable and virtuous.

BESIDES theſe great councils, Athens had ten judicial courts, four of which took cogniſance of actions concerning blood, the reſt of civil matters. In the civil courts every Athenian, who was of the age of thirty, and not declared infamous, might claim a ſeat. Thoſe who had leiſure to hear cauſes, delivered in their names, together with the names of their father and borough, to the Theſmothetæ, who, after determining by lot which court ſhould be aſſigned them, gave them tablets, on which was inſcribed the *letter* of the court which the lot had directed; for the gate of each court was marked with a particular *letter*. Theſe they carried to the crier of the court ſignified by the letter, and from him every man received a tablet marked with his own name and that of the court that fell to his lot, together with a ſcepter, the enſign of judicial authority. At their admiſſion into the court, they took a ſolemn oath, 'to give ſentence uprightly, and according to 'law, where the law had determined, or where it 'was ſilent, according to the beſt of their judge-'ment.' After ſentence pronounced, each judge had an obolus paid him. When the conſtitution was falling to decay, and falſe counſellors ſought every means of conciliating popular favour, this ſtipend was advacned conſiderably.

THE moſt remarkable of theſe civil courts was denominated Heliæa, or *of the ſun*. In this, which decided upon affairs of the greateſt moment, the number of judges was always fifty at the leaſt; and where the cauſe was of ſingular importance, the number roſe ſometimes to fifteen hundred.

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

Of the criminal courts, two, reſpecting blood, deſerve to be noticed. To the one court, the Phreattian*, belonged the trial of the murderer, who had fled from juſtice. Such a perſon, when brought back to Attica to abide his trial, was not ſuffered to come on land, leſt the earth ſhould be polluted with the foot of the man of blood, but he was to be carried in a boat to the edge of the ſhore, where his judges were ſeated, and if found guilty, was immediately put to death, or according to others, was driven out to ſea, and abandoned to the wind and waves: if the fact appeared to have been done without deſign, he was baniſhed for a year. The other court, that of the Prytaneum, took cogniſance of ſlaughters committed by things without life, ſtones, iron, timber, and the like: and whatever had been the inſtrument of the death of man, whether by accident, or by the direction of an unknown hand, or of a perſon that had eſcaped, was pronounced accurſed, and ordered to be caſt out of the Attic territories.

These ſeveral ſenatorial and judicial eſtabliſhments muſt have left to the Archons but a ſmall ſhare of juridical power. In effect, from the time of Solon's legiſlation, their principal office ſeems to have been the introducing of the different cauſes to the ſeveral courts to whoſe cogniſance they belonged.

Solon's next care was concerning the regulation of manners. A remarkable ſpirit runs through all his laws reſpecting manners, principally with regard to theſe three particulars, humanity, the advancement of induſtry and virtue, and a zeal for the public good.

As to the firſt, not only does his appointment of the ſeveral tribunals and judicial proceſſes al-

* Τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ.

ready

ready mentioned fully indicate his wiſh to poſſeſs the people with the ſtrongeſt abhorrence of cruelty and bloody deeds, but alſo from the whole tenor of his inſtitutions it is evident, that one of the principal purpoſes he had in view was to impreſs the mind with mercy. Inſtead of the rigorous puniſhment of death, denounced by Draco againſt all crimes whatſoever, he ſoftened the laws: the penalties which he decreed affected the honour or the property of men, rather than their lives or limbs; and none were to be condemned to die, but ſuch monſters as had been engaged in murderous attempts, the deſpiſers of religion, the magiſtrate that diſgraced his office, and conſpirators againſt their country. To all other offenders the ſanctuaries were open. There was to be a general releaſe of priſoners every year, at the celebration of the Theſmophoria. And they who fell into errors *unwittingly* were not even to ſuffer the reproach of being arraigned in the public court, but were to be admoniſhed and rebuked privately. BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

BUT beſides this general tendency of Solon's laws, there were ſome particularly deſigned to enforce the dictates of humanity. It was forbidden, that any ſhould ſpeak ill of the dead, even though provoked by the children of the deceaſed. The defamer and ſlanderer were to be fined ſeverely. And he who reviled a living perſon at the ſacred ſolemnities, in the courts of juſtice, or at public ſpectacles, was to pay a mulct of five drachms, the price, according to Plutarch, of as many ſheep. And leſt ſudden paſſion ſhould prompt any to deeds of violence, it was forbidden to wear arms in the city, except in times of public danger.

NOR were penalties the only ſanctions he employed. Senſible how highly the conferring of honours on virtue, and the inviting of men by theſe

BOOK IV. Sect. 3. theſe gentler arts, refines the ſentiments, and improves the national character, he appointed various rewards to the deſerving. They who had performed eminent ſervice to the ſtate, were to have the firſt ſeats in all public places; they were to have pictures and ſtatues erected to them; they were to be honoured with crowns, to enjoy immunity from all taxes, to be entertained at the public expence of their country, which laſt, Cicero tells us, was among the Grecians reputed one of their moſt ſignal honours. The very enjoying the right of ſuffrage, and the being eligible to a magiſtracy, were in the Athenian conſtitution a ſpecies of rewards: they were acknowledgments the ſtate made to him who enjoyed them, that he was a virtuous citizen, being privileges from which, had he been an undutiful ſon, a reviler of the gods, a man of profligate manners, or a deſerter of his country in her day of danger, the laws would have excluded him.

BUT nothing marks the gentleneſs of the Athenian inſtitutions more forcibly, than the condition of the ſlaves in that ſtate: their lot was ſo happy at Athens, as by Demoſthenes to be held preferable to that of denizens in other cities. If a ſlave ſuffered under the imperiouſneſs of a cruel maſter, he might take refuge in the temple of Theſeus, there to claim the protection of the laws, which obliged the unfeeling maſter to diſpoſe of him to another owner. Killing of a ſlave was by the law pronounced murder. Slaves were permitted to acquire eſtates to themſelves, paying to their maſter a ſmall yearly tribute: and if they could procure money to pay their ranſom, their proprietor could not withhold their liberty from them. If they were called upon to take up arms, and behaved themſelves well, they were rewarded

warded with enfranchiſement, and held in ſingular eſteem. BOOK IV.

In one caſe only the Athenian ſlave became incapable of being releaſed from the yoke of ſervitude; in the caſe of being convicted of ingratitude towards the indulgent maſter from whom he had obtained his freedom: he was then reduced to his former ſtate of ſlavery for life. The very exception does honour to the lawgiver. Sect. 2.

The advancement of induſtry and virtue was likewiſe conſulted by many excellent and well-deviſed laws. Trade, and every kind of induſtrious occupation, was declared honourable. An action of ſlander lay againſt him, who ſpoke contemptuouſly of the honeſt trader. And he who was remarkably ingenious in his art was to be accounted a friend to his country, and to have a place of honour at all games and public ſhews. A life of idleneſs was a crime cogniſable by the Areopagus, and ſeverely puniſhed. All perſons were required to have their children inſtructed in the rudiments of literature, or, if of meaner fortunes, to have them taught huſbandry or ſome uſeful mechanic art. And though it was eſpecially provided, that thoſe who did not honour their parents, or refuſed them aſſiſtance, ſhoud be declared infamous, yet if a parent neglected the education of his child, that child was not bound to contribute to his maintenance, or to pay him filial duty. The ſame law was in force with regard to children who had been proſtituted by their parents, and to children of ſpurious birth.

If any perſon was found to be extravagant, and to ſquander away his ſubſtance, he was condemned to infamy. There were officers appointed to inſpect public entertainments, and to enforce the ſumptuary laws. None but wines tempered with water were to be allowed at feaſts, except one cup

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

cup of pure wine to the honour of the good genius. These ordinances concerning conduct in private life affected still more severely those entrusted with any office relating to government; from these the laws required the utmost purity of manners. When a magistrate was to be chosen, the whole course of his past life was canvassed rigorously; nor could he be admitted, till it appeared, that he had been pious towards his parents, that he had not wasted his inheritance, nor given way to luxury An Archon, who was seen drunk, was to suffer death. And the least blemish in a senator was sufficient to occasion his expulsion.

THE like upright and frugal manners were to have place in the conduct of all domestic affairs whatsoever. A bride, heiresses excepted, was not to carry with her to her husband's house any more than three garments, and vessels of small value. Heiresses were obliged to marry their nearest relations, that fortune might not be a temptation to ill-sorted marriages. And if a virgin happened to be left an orphan, and without a fortune, her nearest kinsman was either to give her a portion, or to marry her himself. The adultress was not permitted to wear ornaments: if she did, any that met her were at liberty to tear her cloaths off her back, and beat her, provided they did not kill or disable her. The man who lived with his wife, after she had been convicted of adultery, was infamous. No person was to be guardian to another, whose estate he was to enjoy after the minor's death: neither was a guardian to marry the mother of those orphans with whose estate he was entrusted. Tombs were not to be adorned with statues, or to have more work on them than ten men could finish in three days. A concourse of people was not to be allowed at funerals; nor were there to be any women to make lamentations, and tear their faces.

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THE ſame regard to frugality moved Solon to BOOK
reſtrain the recompence beſtowed on thoſe who IV.
obtained the victory in the Olympic and Iſthmian Sect. 3.
games. For though the prize-crown was of ſmall value, it had become a cuſtom for the cities to which the victors belonged, to confer on them ſome noble pecuniary rewards. Theſe were ſo extravagant at Athens, as to be thought by Solon to be burthenſome to the ſtate. It appears beſides, that he entertained a low opinion of thoſe boaſted combatants: they were become uſeleſs members to the community; and inſtead of cultivating that kind of activity and vigour that made them formidable in battle, they confined their whole excellence to the *agoniſtic* exerciſes; 'ſo that,' as Solon obſerved, 'they were dangerous victors, and 'were crowned rather againſt, than for their 'country.'

THE third claſs of laws were thoſe, which related to the conſervation of the public weal. If any citizen did injury to another, he was to be looked on as an invader of the common proſperity, and any Athenian might have his action againſt him.

EVERY perſon of free birth was at the age of eighteen to be enliſted in the city bands, and at the age of twenty, if occaſion required, to march againſt the enemy. They who refuſed to ſerve in the armies of the republic were not permitted entrance into the public aſſemblies, or into the temples of the gods. The coward that forſook his ſtation in the day of battle was to be adjudged infamous. An attempt to overthrow the liberties of his country did not only ſubject the traitor to capital infliction; his kindred, with all his property, were to be baniſhed for ever; even his bones were not to be admitted within the ſepulchre of his fathers; they were caſt out of the territory of Attica.

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

But among the laws of this claſs two eſpecially there are, well worthy of attention, which, though apparently framed with deep wiſdom, have not been adopted into the code of any other people—poſſibly in ſtates leſs circumſcribed, and under other forms of government, ſuch laws might be unneceſſary, and in many caſes even inconvenient. 'Let not a ſtranger be admitted a denizen of 'Athens, except he is in perpetual exile from his 'own country, or has removed his family and all 'his property into Attica.' Surrounded by jealous and often hoſtile ſtates, it had been highly dangerous for Athens to have received into her magiſtracies and councils citizens with divided intereſts and affections. 'Let him, who remains 'neuter in a ſedition, ſuffer confiſcation of goods, 'and be baniſhed for life.' In democracies commotions are to be expected, not unfrequently menacing ruin to the commonwealth. If, on ſuch occaſions, the more temperate citizens, from regard to private emolument or perſonal ſafety, withdraw their aid, they are guilty, Solon thought, of betraying into the hands of factious men thoſe public intereſts, which by a timely and vigorous interpoſition they might be inſtrumental in preſerving.

We ſhall conclude this ſketch of Solon's inſtitutions with the form of oath, which every Athenian was obliged to take, when arrived at the age of eighteen years, at which time his armour was delivered to him. It throws an additional light on the character of this people.

'I will never do any thing to diſgrace this 'armour. I will never deſert my poſt, or revolt 'from my general; but I will fight for my coun'try and religion, in an army or ſingle combat. 'I will never be the cauſe of weakening or enda'maging my country. And if it ſhall be my for-

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'tune to ſail on the ſeas, my country thinking fit to ſend me in a colony, I will readily acquieſce, and enjoy that land which ſhall be allotted to me. I will firmly adhere to the preſent conſtitution; and whatſoever enactions the people ſhall pleaſe to paſs, I will ſuffer no perſon to violate or pervert them, but I will, either ſingly by myſelf, or joining with others, endeavour to aſſert them. I will conform to the religion of my country. I ſwear by theſe following deities, the Agrauli, Mars, Jupiter, the Earth, and Diana. I will lay down my life, if occaſion requires it, for my native country. My endeavours to extend the dominions of Athens ſhall never ceaſe, while there are wheat, barley, vineyards, and olive trees, without its limits.'

GREAT indeed would have been the reputation and happineſs of a ſtate living under a ſyſtem of laws contrived with ſo much wiſdom, had its peace been more effectually ſecured againſt the raging of domeſtic ſtorms. Anacharſis of Scythia, who was about this time at Athens, obſerved this defect in Solon's inſtitutions: 'In your ſtate,' ſaid he to him, 'wiſe men debate, and mad men determine.' But it was not altogether the ſpirit of Solon, it was in a great meaſure the ſpirit of the Athenians themſelves, that dictated this order of polity. The wiſdom of the legiſlator was in many inſtances forced to yield to the impetuous temper of the people. However, his laws of manners have been generally held in high eſteem. Tacitus thinks them more excellent and more complete than thoſe of either Lycurgus or Minos. The Romans did not diſdain to tranſcribe moſt of them into their celebrated Twelve Tables; and from they have been adopted by the wiſeſt nations of the earth.

So ſenſible were the Athenians at firſt of the merit of Solon's legiſlation, that a decree was framed, that his laws ſhould remain in force for

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

an hundred years, and the Theſmothetæ were to take a ſolemn oath for the obſervation of them. Nevertheleſs the inconſtant people ſoon began to raiſe difficulties about the import and expediency of each particular law, and to fatigue the author of their code with numberleſs objections. This induced Solon to leave Athens, until the new eſtabliſhments were become familiar to his countrymen. According to hiſtorians, he was abſent ten years; and theſe he employed in travelling through the moſt cultivated nations. Some part of the time, he reſided among the prieſts of Sais and Heliopolis, thoſe famed ſages of Egypt. He alſo viſited Cyprus, where he made his name memorable by the beautiful and convenient ſtructures, with which he perſuaded one of the Cyprian princes to adorn his kingdom. Thus uſefully did this good man employ his years of leiſure in conſulting the happineſs of others, and at the ſame time enriching his own mind with valuable improvements; and this he did at a ſeaſon of life, when his age might well have admitted of repoſe, and when the full portion of glory he had acquired ſeemed to demand nothing more.

Bef. Chriſt 582.

ON his return to Athens, Solon found that faction had again confounded the whole ſtate of things. The commonwealth was diſtracted by three powerful parties; that of the nobles, headed by Lycurgus; that of the people, under Piſiſtratus; and that of the traders and ſeamen, who demanded a mixture of ariſtocracy and popular government, at the head of which party was Megacles. The Athenian patriot endeavoured to compoſe theſe fatal differences, and to prevail on the leaders of each faction to conſult the public peace. They all received his exhortations with great ſhew of reſpect, eſpecially Piſiſtratus, who had always appeared particularly devoted to him, and now expreſſed

expreſſed the warmeſt zeal for the ordinances which he had eſtabliſhed. Nevertheleſs, it was from him Solon apprehended the greateſt danger to the common liberty. He was a nobleman of the moſt amiable qualifications, who joined extraordinary natural abilities to the advantages of a very extenſive fortune: his deportment was popular and courteous; and his manner of ſpeech exceedingly perſuaſive and affecting: the intereſts of his fellow citizens ſeemed to be his own, and every poor diſtreſſed Athenian found in him a friend. Neither were theſe virtues merely an aſſumed ſemblance, the ſpecious covering, as they have been too often made, of ambition; they were, many of them, the real temper of his ſoul, as plainly appeared, when he was riſen to the full enjoyment of power.

SOLON however ſaw through his deſigns, and would have opened the eyes of the people to the peril that hung over them. There is an obſervation of his to this purpoſe, recorded by Plutarch, which deſerves notice. Theſpis, who had conſiderably improved the firſt rude ſtate of tragedy, began about this time to exhibit his pieces at Athens, the novelty of which entertainment made it extremely pleaſing to the multitude. Solon went to ſee the performance, and after the play, demanded of the poet, whether he was not aſhamed to tell ſo many lies before ſuch a company? Theſpis anſwering, that there was no harm to tell lies in jeſt and merriment: 'Ah,' replies Solon, ſtriking his ſtaff againſt the ground, 'if we commend ſuch merriment as this, it will ſoon find a way into our moſt ſerious affairs.' Though Plutarch does not tell us in what view Solon ſaid this, it certainly was an oblique ſtroke at Piſiſtratus, who was perſonating the friend of the people, while he miſled them by his lying repreſentations.

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

BUT with all the warnings of this clear-ſighted ſtateſman, at length the wiles of Piſiſtratus wrought effectually. He cauſed himſelf to be wounded in ſeveral parts of the body; and in this condition, his wounds bleeding freſh, he ruſhes into the market-place, where he tells the aſſembled multitude, 'it was on their account he had been treated thus; 'he had no enemies, but thoſe who were enemies 'to them; and he ſhould ſoon fall a victim for 'ſupporting the liberty of his country.' This threw the whole city into confuſion: the people crouded into the forum from all quarters, where it was immediately propoſed that a guard ſhould be allowed Piſiſtratus. Solon made vigorous oppoſition to it; but this was no ſeaſon for cool counſels. Rage and faction governed the aſſembly: ſo that a decree paſſed, 'that he ſhould have 'a guard of fifty men.' This was all Piſiſtratus deſired. He ſoon encreaſed the number, and having ſeized on the citadel, uſurped the ſovereignty, as Solon had foretold to his unbelieving countrymen. This laſt would have excited the Athenians to a vindication of their liberties; but finding that they wanted reſolution, he retired out of Attica.

Bef. Chriſt 577.

THE intereſt we naturally feel in the fortunes of men diſtinguiſhed by extraordinary ability and zeal for the ſervice of mankind will juſtify us in dropping for a moment the thread of our ſtory, to note down ſome particulars of the private life of Solon, as well before his legiſlation, as after his final departure from his enſlaved country.

LONG before he was called to the honourable office of preſcribing laws to Athens, Solon had the happineſs of enjoying the acquaintance of a company of ſages, who together with himſelf are become famous in the records of hiſtory under the title of the Seven wiſe men of Greece. Theſe are

ſaid

ſaid to have been Thales of Miletus, Solon, Bias of Priene, Chilo of Sparta, Cleobulus of Lindus, Pittacus of Mitylene, and Periander tyrant of Corinth, in whoſe ſtead ſome authors more properly place Anacharſis the Scythian. It muſt be confeſſed, Periander's fame for wiſdom ſeems moſtly to have ariſen from his affecting a taſte for literature, and from the oſtentatious regard he paid to learned men, of which he gave a proof when he once procured an interview of all the ſages enumerated above at his own palace, where he entertained them with great delicacy and ſumptuouſneſs. But as for real wiſdom, *the virtue of the heart*, he had it not. He was the oppreſſor of his people, and indulged himſelf in the moſt brutal exceſſes of cruelty even againſt thoſe of his own family. And Diogenes Laertius hath preſerved to us a letter written to him by Solon, which plainly ſhews what opinion the Athenian lawgiver entertained of Periander's conduct.

ANACHARSIS, the only member of this illuſtrious company who did not owe his birth to Greece or the Grecian colonies, was a prince of the royal blood of Scythia, whom a love of wiſdom had drawn to Athens: here he ſo greatly profited by the happy opportunity of knowing and converſing with Solon, that he obtained the reputation of being one of the moſt accompliſhed perſons of his time. A knowledge of the arts of government and legiſlation, and of the means of making nations happy, appears from hiſtory to have been the foundation on which the Sages of Greece reſted their claim to public notice, Thales the Mileſian being the only perſon among them who applied himſelf to the ſtudy of natural things and of geometry, the rudiments of which ſciences he had been taught by the Egyptians. There is a ſtory preſerved in the life of Thales by his biographer, which muſt have conduced greatly to raiſe the character

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

racter of thoſe men whom the Grecian annals diſtinguiſh by the peculiar appellation of *wiſe*. Certain fiſhermen of the iſland of Cos had the fortune to draw up in their nets a golden tripod, which according to the piety of the times they carried to the oracle of Apollo, deſiring counſel in what manner they ſhould diſpoſe of it. The anſwer was, 'that it ſhould be given to the Wiſeſt.' Accordingly it was preſented to Thales, by whom the honour was modeſtly declined, with advice that they ſhould beſtow it on Bias. From him it was ſent to another, and ſo to every one of theſe Wiſe Men, until it came to Solon, who offered it to Apollo, with this ſaying, worthy of a better religion, 'that to God alone was the prize of wiſ-'dom to be offered.' An ancient author, quoted by Laertius in the life of Bias, relates the adventure with ſome other circumſtances extremely remarkable. He tells us, that the tripod was inſcribed with theſe words, TO THE WISEST, and that it was taken up by ſome fiſhermen of Athens, who referred the diſpoſal of it to the general aſſembly of the people. It ſeems, Bias had ranſomed certain Meſſenian virgins, who were in captivity on the Ionian coaſt: the generous Greek had not only ſaved them from ſervitude, he had alſo taken a tender care of their education and manners, and after ſome time had reſtored them to their parents. The father of theſe maidens happened at this juncture to be at Athens, and related what Bias had done. Immediately the people voted him the *wiſeſt man*, and decreed that the tripod ſhould be given to him; which he, in the manner above aſcribed to Solon, offered up in the temple of Apollo. It is worthy of notice, that at Athens, in thoſe days, to be the *wiſeſt man* was to be the *moſt virtuous*.

THE

THE uſurpation of Piſiſtratus having compelled Solon to take a final leave of his native country, he paſſed over to Lydia in Aſia Minor, over which at that time reigned the celebrated Crœſus, whoſe name is become proverbial for his extraordinary wealth. From what hiſtorians relate it appears, that Crœſus was poſſeſſed of many valuable endowments, and probably might have held a place among the greateſt princes, had not proſperity corrupted him. His court was always open to perſons of diſtinguiſhed worth. As ſoon therefore as he heard that Solon had left Athens, he ſent him an invitation to come to Sardis, the city where he had his reſidence. Orders were given, that the venerable ſage ſhould be received with the utmoſt pomp. The firſt apartment he was admitted into was magnificently adorned, and filled with a multitude of courtiers in coſtly attire, ſtanding round a nobleman whoſe ornaments had the ſhew of regal dignity. The next apartment exceeded this: and the third was yet more ſumptuous. In this manner was Solon led through a long range of rooms, all riſing one above the other in magnificence and ſplendor, till at laſt he reached that where the ſovereign was. He found Crœſus ſeated on a throne of gold, a precious crown on his head, and his robes covered with jewels of dazzling luſtre. This faſtuous way of expreſſing majeſty ſeemed poor to our wiſe Athenian, who, inſtead of being moved to admiration, beheld it with a reproving eye. Crœſus then ordered, that he ſhould be conducted through his palace, and that all his treaſures ſhould be diſplayed before him. And now ſuppoſing he had vanquiſhed the indifference of the philoſopher, he aſked him, 'Who was the happieſt man he had ever known?' 'An Athenian, 'one Tellus, anſwered Solon, 'a man of moderate 'fortune, but of manners unblemiſhed, bleſſed 'with virtuous children, and who died fighting

Bef. Chriſt 561.

'for

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

'for his country.'—'But after him,' resumed the king, 'was there ever any, whose happine s was 'to be compared to mine?'—'Yes,' said Solon, 'Cleobis and Bito, sons to a priestess of Argos. 'Such was their filial piety, than when the oxen 'were long in coming, they yoked themselves to 'their mother's chariot, and drew the priestess to 'the temple. Transported with joy at the honour 'she received from the duteous affection of her 'children, the mother offered up her prayers to 'Juno, that she would reward them with her 'choicest blessings. The goddess lent a favourable 'ear to her request, and the two young men, hav-'ing fallen asleep, awaked no more.'—'What 'then' said Crœsus, 'is all my splendor and glory 'of my kingdom to be of no account?'—'O 'king,' answered this excellent man, 'Providence 'has given to us Greeks a kind of wisdom fitted 'to the obscurer fortunes of middle life, rather 'than to the pomp of courts; and this forbids us 'to be elated on the enjoyments of the present 'hour, or to esteem men happy from possessions 'that may pass away. He alone is to be pro-'nounced happy, to whom God has given to live 'and to die in happiness: but the happiness of 'him whose days are not ended is like the glory 'of a wrestler who is yet within the ring, 'precarious and uncertain.' These were unwel-come words in the ears of a gay prince too much accustomed to flattery, who requited the admo-nition by a contemptuous dismissal of its author: but the time came round, when he fatally experi-enced the truth of Solon's remark. Some few years after, Cyrus the Persian made war on the king of Lydia, overturned his kingdom, and made him prisoner. Crœsus was condemned to be burnt, and when the fire was now set to the pile, he thrice repeated with passion the name of Solon.

Bef. Christ 548.

Curiosity

Curioſity inducing his conqueror to ſuſpend the execution till he ſhould learn who was the deity that Cræſus invoked, 'He was the wiſeſt man,' ſaid the unfortunate prince, 'that ever graced my 'court;' and in proof related the converſation the reader has heard. The inſtructive leſſon ſunk deep into the heart of Cyrus, who not only diſcharged Cræſus from the intended puniſhment, but held him thenceforward in the higheſt honour. Thus did this wiſe man, as Plutarch obſerves, prove of infinite ſervice to two kings; he ſaved the life of one, and opened the mind and improved the heart of the other. Solon however lived not to ſee his own obſervation verified in the fall of the Lydian empire. He retired to Cyprus, and died ſhortly after his interview with Cræſus; but in what city, authors do not agree.

Let us now return to Athens, where an impatient people ſoon began to feel the galling preſſure of that yoke which Piſiſtratus had faſtened on them, and as quickly paſſed from the extreme of love to the utmoſt hatred of their maſter. Contrary however to the practice of other uſurpers, his manner of government was ſuch, as ſeemed almoſt to ſanctify uſurpation. He oppreſſed not any man. He was courteous and affable to all. Even perſonal inſults he paſſed by without reſentment. His chief concern appeared to be, to advance the proſperity of the Athenian people, and to melt down their ſtubborn temper by the force of kind offices. For this purpoſe he adorned the city with ſtately edifices, and encouraged planting and agriculture throughout all the Attic territories. He has the merit of being the firſt that built a library for public uſe; and to him moſt authors aſcribe the collecting together of Homer's poems, and the digeſting of them into regular order. The laws alſo were permitted to have their courſe, the conſtitutions

BOOK IV. Sect. 3. constitutions of Solon were observed, and the several magistrates were elected, with this difference only, that they were chosen out of Pisistratus' dependents. And as to taxes, the only one he imposed on them was the same that had been usually paid for the support and defence of the state, the tenth part of the yearly produce of their lands.

NEVERTHELESS, all his virtues weighed little with the people of Athens, to whom his most beneficial ordinances appeared a burden, because enforced by an authority not legally established. Megacles and Lycurgus, the heads of the two opposite factions, took advantage of these dispositions of the people, and by degrees formed a party against the usurper, powerful enough to force him out of Attica. But these popular leaders, who, like most others in their situation, under pretence of serving the public meant only to aggrandize themselves, could not long agree together. Megacles found himself the dupe of Lycurgus. He began therefore to treat with Pisistratus, and having made his terms with him, effected his restoration to the sovereignty. The stipulated price of this piece of service was, that Pisistratus should take to wife the daughter of Megacles, whom accordingly he married, and retained till he thought himself in a condition to despise Megacles, when he began to treat his new wife with great indignity, under colour that she belonged to a family that was accursed. A fresh coalition between the contending parties was the consequence of this impolitic conduct. Pisistratus seeing them all united against him, thought it wisest to retire before the gathering storm, and passed over to Eretria.

HE returned however in about eleven years, when having formed several alliances, and raised a considerable force, he invaded Attica, and took

Athens

Athens by ſurpriſe. It appears, that the Athenians ſhewed little vigour on this occaſion. The intrigues of their great men had broken them into parties, and this diviſion in their councils made them an eaſy prey to the enemy. It may be alſo, that many of them were become the better affected to the government of Piſiſtratus, on account of the domeſtic troubles they had been involved in, from the time of his expulſion. On his reſtoration, Megacles, with the whole family of the Alcmæonidæ, left Attica. The fortune of Piſiſtratus underwent no ſubſequent change, but he continued in poſſeſſion of ſovereign power to his death. From the beginning of his uſurpation to the period of his life there elapſed thirty-three years, of which he reigned ſeventeen. His firſt exile laſted five years, his ſecond eleven.

THE power of Piſiſtratus had taken ſo firm a root, that it deſcended after his deceaſe to his family, though to which of his two ſons, Hippias and Hipparchus, hiſtorians are not agreed: the moſt probable opinion is, that they reigned jointly. Theſe young princes had wiſdom enough for many years to imitate the excellent qualities of their father, his courteſy and affability, his concern for the common proſperity: like him, they delighted in being the protectors of the learned and ingenious, and were at uncommon pains to cultivate and improve the minds of their people. So that Athens was in a manner ſubdued by theſe humane and gentle arts, and ſeemed ſcarcely to know that her liberty was taken from her; when one act of violence rouſed again her ſpirit, and brought on the final overthrow of the houſe of Piſiſtratus.

THERE were at Athens two young men nobly born, Harmodius, a youth of ſingular beauty, and Ariſtogiton, who were united to each other by the ſtricteſt bands of friendſhip. It happened that Hipparchus

BOOK IV. Sect. 3. Hipparchius, prompted by a baſe paſſion, injured Harmodius in a very ſenſible manner. Impatient of the inſult, the two friends vowed to take vengeance on the whole family, and having engaged ſome perſons to aſſiſt them, it was determined that they ſhould vindicate their own and their country's wrongs by the deſtruction of the brothers. But before the appointed time, a ſuſpicion ariſing that their deſign was diſcovered, and Hippias not being in the city, they two alone fell on Hipparchus, and ſlew him. His death was immediately revenged by the guards, who killed Harmodius, and took Ariſtogiton priſoner. This attempt terrified Hippias greatly, and he reſolved to puniſh all thoſe concerned in it with exemplary ſeverity. Accordingly Ariſtogiton was brought before him, and at his command put to the rack, in order to extort from him the names of all who were privy to the conſpiracy. The young man, as ſoon as he felt the torments, named ſome of the tyrant's beſt friends, who were immediately led away to execution; he then named more; and they alſo were put to death. The tyrant continuing to aſk him whether there were not ſome others, 'Thou thyſelf art now the only one, whom I 'would wiſh to ſuffer death,' replied Ariſtogiton, ſmiling, and ſhortly after expired. There was alſo a woman whom Ariſtogiton loved, and who was ſeized by the orders of Hippias, and put to the torture. For ſome time ſhe bore it with wonderful firmneſs; but when ſhe found ſhe could endure no longer, ſhe bit off her tongue, and ſpit it out, that ſhe might not have it in her power to divulge the ſecrets with which ſhe had been entruſted.

Bef. Chriſt 513.

THESE extraordinary inſtances of reſolution inſpired the people with new courage: and the tyrannical temper, which Hippias gave way to, completed what thoſe examples had begun; for, inſtead

ſtead of the mild and humane diſpoſitions which he had always ſhewn, he was now become gloomy and ſuſpicious, oppreſſive and cruel. In the mean time Cliſthenes, ſon to Megacles, was ſoliciting at Delphi in behalf of his country. He had been commiſſioned by the Amphictyons to rebuild the temple of the Pythian god, which had been deſtroyed by fire; and that he might ingratiate himſelf with the prieſteſs, he added much to the magnificence of the building, by facing it with Parian marble at his own private expence: for he was a perſon of immenſe wealth, both by his grandfather Alcmæon, and by his mother Agariſta, daughter to Cliſthenes prince of Sicyon. It was on this account that the oracle was devoted to his intereſts, as we have already related, and that the Lacedemonians were urged with repeated commands, in the name of the god, to undertake the deliverance of the Athenians. The event has been alſo mentioned. Hippias was obliged to abandon Attica, and ſeek a refuge at Sigeum. We ſhall preſently ſee, what a diſmal concluſion his fortunes had.

The expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ not only relieved Athens from the humiliations of ſervitude, it reſtored to her a number of gallant citizens, who impatient of the tyrant's yoke, had during the late adminiſtration taken refuge in the neighbouring ſtates. Among theſe was Cliſthenes, juſt mentioned; from his illuſtrious birth, his wealth, his numerous followers, his abilities, and what was ſtill higher, his integrity, one of the moſt reſpectable perſons of his time. This nobleman, far from employing his advantages, like the miſtaken Piſiſtratus, in the purſuits of a narrow ambition, had no object ſo dear to him as the proſperity of his country. His active exertion at Delphi had effected the deliverance of Athens from her tyrants;

BOOK IV. Sect. 3.

rants; and he had returned, animated with the ſame zeal for the public happineſs. Strongly attached to the conſtitutions of Solon, with whom the whole family of the Alcmæonidæ had been in ſtrict connection, he reſolved to eſtabliſh them in their full vigour, and to give to Athens that ſplendor to which her illuſtrious lawgiver ſought to raiſe her. Some few alterations he introduced, by the change of times become neceſſary. The ſimplicity of the firſt ages had diſtributed the Athenians into four claſſes, ſoldiers, artificers, huſbandmen, ſhepherds: and this diviſion Solon had followed in the appointment of his national ſenate of Four Hundred, one hundred from each claſs. Time and the progreſs of manners having now rendered this mode of claſſing inadequate, Cliſthenes threw all the freeborn Athenians, without regard to their occupations, into ten tribes, whom he named (probably to add dignity to his eſtabliſhment) from the Athenian heroes of antient days; appointing, that out of each tribe fifty perſons ſhould be deputed to form a general repreſentative council, which thenceforth took the appellation of the ſenate of Five Hundred. He added alſo ſome few laws to thoſe which Solon had enacted, in order to ſecure the public liberty againſt future invaſion. Every Athenian was required to bind himſelf by ſolemn oath, that he would with his own hand ſlay the man who ſhould attempt to violate the liberties of his country. And the very meditating of ſuch an enterpriſe, if proved againſt any perſon, though no overt act had accompanied it, was made capital.

BOOK V.

SECTION I.

WE are now entering into one of the moſt memorable periods of antient hiſtory, *the age of glory of the Athenian people.* Every thing that can give fame or dignity appears at this time, as it were, conſpiring to advance them to greatneſs—an unſhaken reſolution in the defence of the nobleſt cauſe, the cauſe of liberty and the public weal; a courage unappalled in the utmoſt extremity of peril; feats ſcarcely credible, wrought by ſea, by land; victories won, where even to have eſcaped might have been eſteemed a miracle—and with all this, the humaneſt ſentiments, and the moſt generous tenderneſs of heart, preſerved amidſt all the din of war; a love of literature, a delicacy of genius, never equalled by any nation—

BOOK V. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 516.

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

the laurel crown and the ivy wreath were both theirs. And thoſe men, who yielded to none in the day of battle, were alſo foremoſt in every refined improvement.

But what is moſt amazing, never did people riſe by ſuch quick gradations to the ſummit of glory. Within leſs than eighty years before the Perſians invaded Greece, Athens was a republic of ſmall figure, often diſtreſſed by the petty nations around her: and yet now did that glorious people find themſelves in a condition to bid defiance to the powers of Perſia, and with impunity to ſcorn the proffered friendſhip of the greateſt monarch of the earth. In literature likewiſe was their progreſs rapid. Until the days of Piſiſtratus, as we have ſeen, the politer ſtudies were but faintly cultivated by the Athenians, and only then was the great prince of poets introduced among them. Yet ſo it was, before two generations had paſſed away, Athens was become the ſeat of ſcience, the choſen abode of the tragic and comic muſe, of both philoſophy and eloquence. To account for this ſurpriſing advancement, cannot ſurely be eſteemed an unintereſting digreſſion. The proſperity, as well as the decay of nations, has its cauſes. Whence therefore this ſtrength of genius to the inhabitants of this little ſpot of earth? How came they to be poſſeſſed of that intrepidity, that readineſs of apprehenſion, that energy of thought, which to this day render them the ſubject of admiration? The ſpirit of liberty, it may in general be anſwered, wrought within them, and bore them on to theſe great things. But ſtill it will remain to be explained, why, at this period of time, the influence of that ſpirit ſhould have been ſo powerful. The truth is, there was an happy conjunction of circumſtances, a number of lucky events, that concurred at this time in favour of the Athenians.

A ſhort

A ſhort review of thoſe may give us an uſeful in- BOOK
ſight into the hiſtory of this illuſtrious people. V.

IN the firſt place, they had lately felt the yoke Sect. 1.
of tyranny; and the violence and oppreſſion of the laſt years of Hippias were full in their remembrance. The Athenians always loved liberty, but *now* they knew what it was to loſe it. The evils of thoſe wretched days had taught them, at what a price this bleſſing was to be valued, and how much it became them to ſuffer in defence of it.—Indeed it appears evidently what an impreſſion theſe things had left on their minds, from the extraordinary honours they paid to the memory of that admirable pair of friends who had attempted their deliverance. Not only they raiſed ſtatues to them; ſolemn obſequies were alſo annually performed to their memory. Their praiſes were ſung both at public feaſts and private banquets. It was even decreed, that no ſlave ſhould ever bear the name of Harmodius or Ariſtogiton. And their poſterity, through every generation, were to be free from all impoſts, and to be allowed a penſion out of the revenues of the ſtate. Nay, Ariſtogiton's miſtreſs, who ſhewed that wonderous reſolution in the midſt of tortures, was not forgotten: and becauſe it was thought inconſiſtent with purity of manners to erect the ſtatue of a woman of reproachful life, ſhe was repreſented under the form of a lioneſs without a tongue. This effuſion of gratitude plainly ſpeaks minds deeply affected with their late condition. The ſame turn appears alſo in the laws enacted after the expulſion of Hippias. It was made a rule, that not only he who ſhould engage in ſubverting the commonwealth, but alſo the perſon who ſhould bear any office after its ſubverſion, ſhould be deemed an enemy to his country; and whoſoever killed him, ſhould be held guiltleſs. The obſervation of this

BOOK V. Sect. 1. law was moreover enforced by the ſanction of an oath. Every Athenian was to ſwear, that he would with his own hand endeavour to deſtroy that man who ſhould aim at the diſſolution of the republican government, or accept of any office after its diſſolution. And if any perſon ſhould attempt the deſtruction of the tyrant, and fail in the attempt, the Athenians were by the ſame oath bound to pay the like diſtinguiſhed honours to his poſterity as were paid to thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton.

ANOTHER circumſtance, at this juncture, extremely favourable to Athens, was the placing an encreaſe of power in the hands of the people. This, we ſee, was the *ſpirit* of Solon's inſtitutions; and Cliſthenes, who is ſpoken of as one of the greateſt men of his age, did after his return add many things to ſtrengthen the popular government.—There was alſo the Great Aſſembly, in which every citizen, not declared infamous, had a ſuffrage. So that in Athens the pooreſt member of the commonwealth was immediately intereſted in the public fortune. In deſpotic ſtates, it matters not, at leaſt to the meaner ranks of men, who has the power, revolutions of government producing only a change of maſters. But here, the loweſt Athenian had a country (in the propereſt ſenſe) to fight for; he was one of the lords of the commonwealth; he had real rights and privileges, and could not give up the conſtitution without being a traitor to himſelf. In their councils, it is true, this power of the multitude was often found inexpedient. However, at this time of danger from the common enemy of Greece, when the exigencies of the ſtate demanded the aſſiſtance of each individual, it doubtleſs was an happy circumſtance, that every Athenian, from his civil ſituation, muſt have been ready to expoſe both his property and his perſon in defence of his country, and that ſcarcely was there a man, who did not chooſe rather

ther to fall with the commonwealth than to pur- BOOK
chaſe life with the exchange of liberty. V.

AGAIN, from the expulſion of Hippias to the Sect. I.
Perſian invaſion, Athens had a continued train of difficulties to ſtruggle with. Cleomenes firſt endeavoured to ſubject them to the Spartan power, and to model their ſtate to his will. He had aſſiſted them againſt Hippias; but he ſoon became jealous of the independency they affected, and of the great abilities diſplayed by Cliſthenes, then at the head of the Athenian affairs. This moved the Spartan king, as we have mentioned elſewhere, to employ the force of his country againſt the Athenians, and to procure the baniſhment of Cliſthenes: not content with which, he cauſed ſeven hundred families alſo to be ſent into exile, and ſeizing on the citadel, would have entirely ſubverted the democracy. But theſe acts of violence rouſed the Athenians. Cleomenes was forced to betake himſelf to flight. Cliſthenes and all the exiles were recalled. The reſpite however was but a ſhort one. Stung with the indignity, Cleomenes with a numerous army again invaded Attica, whilſt the Eubœans and Bœotians, with whom he was leagued, were preparing on their ſide to ravage it. Deſtruction ſeemed now to threaten Athens, when the generoſity of the Corinthians, and of Demaratus the other Spartan king, interpoſed in the manner related above, and obliged Cleomenes to retire. Nevertheleſs, the Eubœans and Bœotians were ſtill carrying on hoſtilities.—The former of theſe the Athenians marched againſt, and eaſily defeated: but the Bœotians ſtrengthened themſelves by an alliance with thoſe of Ægina; by which means this became a long and hazardous war, the Æginetæ being not only a martial people, but a people powerful at ſea, and thence able to lay waſte, almoſt at pleaſure, the Attic borders. In the mean time, the other ene-

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

mies of Athens were not inactive. Cleomenes had found the art to prepoſſeſs the whole Spartan ſtate againſt this riſing city; and by the baſeſt policy Hippias had been ſent for, that by reinſtating him in the ſovereignty they might again depreſs the aſpiring genius of Athens. Of ſuch importance was liberty, even in the judgment of the Spartans themſelves: if this rival, whom they feared, were deprived of it, they well knew there was an end of her ſtrength and glory. But the inference more particularly to be deduced from the ſtate of Athens at this juncture is, that theſe trying circumſtances, theſe continual wars, this louring aſpect of foreign affairs, were of real uſe to the Athenians. To a people who love their country, times of public danger are always times of public virtue: the urging difficulty calls forth the whole vigor of their ſpirit, and occaſions a full exertion of their abilities and fortitude. So that this ſeemingly adverſe chance of things proved a real cauſe of ſplendor and power to the Athenian people. Hence it was, that the invaſion of the Perſians found them acquainted with perils, and accuſtomed to the buſineſs of arms; it found them brave, hardy, united, ſtrong in ſoldiers, and ſtrong in chiefs.

ANOTHER circumſtance deſerves attention. The ſtrength of the Æginetæ conſiſted in their fleets; and the Athenians had only land forces. The fable of the poets is well known, that both Neptune the monarch of the deep, and Minerva the goddeſs of civil arts, claimed the patronage of Athens, and that the victory was decided in favour of the latter. This antient fiction witneſſeth, what was of old the genius of the Athenian people. They were naturally averſe from a maritime life, and greatly inexpert in naval affairs. But the diſtreſſes of the Æginean war introduced an entire change of policy. The Athenians opened their eyes on the advantages they were ſurrounded

rounded with, and navigation began to be culti- BOOK
vated among them. V.

THE ſame general cauſe is to be aſſigned for the Sect. 1.
progreſs which this celebrated people made in the ſeveral walks of literature, as for their attainments in the art and practice of war. Liberty is the harbinger of every great exertion of the human mind: ſcience and the arts are never found at a diſtance from her. Genius is, as it were, licentious; it loves to ſport itſelf after its own wanton manner, unawed by the jealous inſpection of tyrants, uncontrolled even by the frown of laws. Under theſe circumſtances only, ſaith the ſublime de- Longin.
ſcriber of ſublimity, does the ſoul of man ſtretch 44.
itſelf to its juſt dimenſions, becoming capable of 'the wide-expatiating view,' and 'the bold-tower-'ing thought.' Thus it was at Athens. There imagination knew no bounds; and all the exceſs of liberty was fully indulged, except when the religion of the ſuperſtitious people happened to be wounded. To this it is owing, that the Old Comedy preſents us with the freeſt ſcenes of wit and humour that ever were produced: the poet had no reſtraints from abroad, and might ridicule the moſt venerable characters without hazard. We mean not to juſtify the Athenians in this point. It was a vicious exceſs, making that fatal to virtue, which ought only to have been levelled at the baſe and profligate: and better certainly had it been, to have wanted the humorous ſallies of Ariſtophanes, than to have purchaſed them at ſo dear a price, as the impairing of the public manners, and diſgracing of the Athenian name. But whatever was the petulancy of comic writers, undoubtedly it was the extreme freedom of the democratical government, that rendered the Attic climate ſo favourable to genius, and raiſed every lettered art among them to that unrivalled degree of perfection it attained.

ANOTHER

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

ANOTHER cauſe, that contributed to the advancement of literature at Athens, was the form of polity. All matters were referred to the great aſſembly of the people; and neither domeſtic regulations nor foreign alliances, neither peace nor war, could be ultimately determined on, till their conſent had given ratification. On this account, *perſuaſion* was among the principal inſtruments of the Athenian government, and the loweſt citizens were accuſtomed to be addreſſed by perſons exerciſed in all the arts of ſpeech. Now this did not only make oratory neceſſary to as many as were deſirous of appearing to advantage in the public councils; it had the further effect of rendering the people themſelves nice and critical hearers. It is to be conſidered beſides, that all Athenians had a place in the judicial courts, where cauſes both civil and criminal came under their deciſion: of courſe, they muſt by degrees have become expert in argument, and ready at unfolding the intricacies of forenſic pleadings. With opportunies ſuch as theſe, the culture of the mind was an eaſy attainment. It was ſcarcely poſſible that they ſhould not have been an acute accompliſhed people, when even the meaneſt artiſans were thus inveſted daily with the reſpectable character of judges, and converſant in the moſt important queſtions of ſtate.

A practice alſo obtained in this poliſhed city, which may deſervedly be reckoned among the moſt powerful cauſes of its eminence in letters. It was uſual here to diſpute in public the prize of wit; and not only the poet's wreath, but oftentimes the greateſt honours were the recompence of ſuch as excelled. To the emulation excited by this cuſtom do we owe in a great meaſure thoſe inimitable performances that graced the Athenian ſtage, the poet writing with a view to the higheſt diſtinctions, and to obtain the ſuffrages of an impartial, delicate, knowing people. At the ſame time,

time, this kind of conteſt preſerved the public taſte: from entertainments thus refined the loweſt Athenians derived that reliſh for the beauties of compoſition, that purity of ſtyle, that fineneſs of ear, which antiquity with one conſent hath aſcribed to them. A ſingle example may be ſufficient to prove the fact. Theophraſtus, a Leſbian, the diſciple of Ariſtotle, was one of the brighteſt geniuſes of his age. The purity of the Attic idiom it was his particular ambition to imitate; for which purpoſe he eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Athens, where he ſoon obtained a very high reputation, as much for elegance of diction, as the ſterling worth of his matter. After many years of fame, chancing in the market-place to be cheapening ſome vegetables, the herb-woman took him ſhort with, 'Stranger, you cannot have them for 'leſs.' She knew him not: but ſome peculiarity of phraſe detected him, to an Attic ear, the native of another country. The philoſopher turned off, much confounded, that after all his pains he was ſtill in accuracy of language unequal to the meaneſt of the Athenian people. Cic. clar. orat.

We may alſo apply to the progreſs of letters, what we have before obſerved of the ſucceſs of the Athenian arms. This was a time of ſtruggle and endeavour: and at ſuch a time, wherever genius is, it always exerts itſelf, impelling us to things great and worthy. In the buſy days of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides, amidſt the alarms of the Perſian war, Æſchylus flouriſhed, and Sophocles planned his ſublime dramas. And of them that followed, all the moſt eminent were thoſe, who lived neareſt to that illuſtrious age when diſtreſs rendered Athens glorious.

Neither ſhould we omit another circumſtance, in accounting for the happy influence of this period upon genius,—the contagion of example. Our ſouls catch, as it were, the love of glory from

BOOK V. Sect. 1. from each other; and when we behold all around us engaged in noble purſuits, emulation adds vigor to our ſpirit, and every power within us is called forth to action. Hence, among all improved nations, has that point of time, which has been moſt diſtinguiſhed by gallantry in arms, been alſo memorable for producing men of extraordinary accompliſhments of mind. At Athens it was ſo remarkably: and, together with the moſt famed of her laurelled chiefs, ſhone forth her greateſt poets and beſt philoſophers. Here might be ſeen a Miltiades, a Themiſtocles, a Cimon; there an Æſchylus, a Cratinus, a Sophocles: here a Nicias, a Pericles, an Alcibiades; there an Euripides, an Eupolis, an Ariſtagoras, an Ariſtophanes, a Socrates, a Plato. Arms give life to arts: and the hero and the ſcholar ſeem to contend, who ſhall beſt adorn their common country.

A cuſtom prevailed at Athens of doing honour to the memory of thoſe who fell in war, whether by funeral orations or panegyric verſe, which muſt have contributed not a little to the flouriſhing of genius in that city. The ſubjects, which called forth the exertion of eminent ability, were of the higheſt dignity. Juſtice was to be done to the merit of thoſe glorious men, who died for their country at Marathon, at Salamis, at Plateæ. Themes of this nature muſt have poured into the breaſt of the poet and the orator a degree of inſpiration; muſt have raiſed them to a grandeur of thought and diction, not to be expected from colder topics.

ONE circumſtance more is worthy of notice, which proved very advantageous to Athens—the calamitous condition of the Ionian ſtates, divided, ravaged, and oppreſſed. Ionia, from the ſoftneſs of its climate, appeared to have been deſigned by nature for a nurſery of the arts and ſciences. Its

air

air was of the happieſt temperature, mild and ſe- BOOK
rene; and all the treaſures of the year cloathed its V.
blooming fields. The caſt of its inhabitants was Sect. 1.
refined, their imagination lively, their reach of thought uncommon; ſo that on this ſhore, and on the iſles adjacent, a greater number of accompliſhed perſons had their birth, than on any other diſtrict of the ſame extent throughout the world. Here, in early days, was Homer born. Cumæ was the country of Heſiod. And in later ages, Sappho, Alcæus, Anacreon, Ion, Hecatæus, Theopompus, Herodotus, Pythagoras, Bias, Thales, Anaxagoras, all great names, with many others, poets, hiſtorians, philoſophers, were natives of this lovely region. But Ionia ſoon loſt her liberties. Firſt a number of petty tyrants, and then Crœſus invaded it. From the Lydian bondage it paſſed into the Perſian, and was made to groan under the arbitrary ſway and cruel exactions of the Satraps of Aſia the Leſs. At the time we now ſpeak of, under Darius Hyſtaſpis, the diſtreſſes of Ionia had encreaſed, and its moſt flouriſhing ſtates were given up to ſlavery and devaſtation. The muſes have been always noted for taking their flight from the abode of ſervitude and oppreſſion to the land of liberty: and Athens ſaw itſelf enriched with the moſt valuable ſpoils of the Aſiatic coaſts, its arts and manners, its philoſophers and poets.

We paſs on now to the invaſion of Greece by the Perſians, an event which took place twenty years after the expulſion of Hippias from Athens. To trace the cauſes of this invaſion, it will be neceſſary previouſly to recount certain particulars of the Perſian and Ionian hiſtory.

Cyrus the great, the founder of the Perſian monarchy, was the father of his people, having eſtabliſhed a mighty empire not leſs by the excellence

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

lence of his virtues, than by the terror of his arms. His ſucceſſor Cambyſes inherited his father's crown, without being heir to his virtues; a weak, raſh, vicious prince, a curſe to his own family, and the ſcourge of thoſe he reigned over, till a violent death freed the earth from this monſter. The throne was then uſurped by Smerdis (or Oropaſtes, as Juſtin calls him) who found means to perſonate the king's brother, ſlain by the orders of Cambyſes. This impoſture being ſoon diſcovered, ſeven Perſian noblemen of the firſt rank conſpired againſt the uſurper, and ſlew him. No prince of the race of Cyrus now remained. It was therefore agreed on by the noble perſons who had vindicated the honour of their country, that on a ſtated day their horſes ſhould be led forth to a certain place, and he whoſe horſe ſhould firſt neigh after the riſing of the ſun (the great divinity of the Perſians) ſhould be ſaluted king. By the contrivance of a groom the omen declared in favour of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and he was accordingly placed on the throne of Cyrus.

Bef. Chriſt 536.

Bef. Chriſt 529.

Bef. Chriſt 522.

Bef. Chriſt 512.

AFTER this prince had reigned many years proſperouſly, he determined, on ſome frivolous pretence, to make war upon the Scythians, who dwelt along the banks of the Danube. They were a nation, of whom antient hiſtory makes the moſt honourable mention: in their manners ſimple, upright, reproachleſs; occupied entirely in the culture of their flocks, in which their whole wealth conſiſted; without cities or fixed habitations, they ranged from place to place, as the fairneſs of the paſturage invited them. Enured by this method of life to the roughеſt toils and the ſevereſt inclemencies of the ſeaſons, they exceeded all the nations around them in boldneſs and vigor. Againſt a people ſuch as this, poor

were

were the triumphs to be expected. Nevertheleſs Darius aſſembled a numerous army, and having ſubdued the Thracians, and thrown a bridge acroſs the Danube, he paſſed over into the Scythian borders. Nothing but a wild waſte of country lay before him; for the Sythians had removed their families and flocks into the more northern parts. Expecting however to force them to ſubmiſſion, Darius committed the bridge to the care of the Ionians who attended him in the expedition, requiring of them that they ſhould wait for him forty days, within which ſpace if he did not return, they were diſcharged from their ſtation; and then, ſecure of victory, he marched in queſt of the Scythians. They ſoon appeared, and ſeeming to flee before him, led him far away from the banks of the Danube, till at length the Perſians found themſelves in the midſt of an inhoſpitable deſart, expoſed to all the extremities of want, and to the reſentment of a brave exaſperated people. Darius now ſaw the vanity of his hopes. A ſpeedy retreat ſeemed his only reſource; but difficulties multiplied againſt him. The poor produce of this uncultivated ſoil had been conſumed by his own forces: the roads, bad in themſelves, had been rendered impaſſable by the natives. He was in the midſt of enemies preparing to attack him; and the king of the Scythians, Indathyrſus, had ſent a meſſage that filled the whole army with terror. A Scythian preſented to Darius, in the name of his ſovereign, a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows. The Scythians, it ſeems, had their emblematical language as well as the politer nations; and the meaning of this ſignificative meſſage was ſoon explained to be, that except the Perſians could take flight like the bird, or hide them in the earth like the mouſe, or

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

conceal

BOOK V. conceal themſelves under water like the frog, they never ſhould eſcape the Scythian arrows.

Sect. 1. DURING theſe tranſactions, the appointed days elapſed, and the Ionians began to deſpair of the Perſian monarch's return. Among thoſe chiefs was Miltiades, ſon to Cimon, a nobleman of Athens. His uncle, who was alſo called Miltiades, being choſen by the Thracian Dolonces for their leader, had paſſed over to the Cherſoneſus, where he died, leaving his principality to Steſagoras, the elder brother of this Miltiades, by whoſe death Miltiades was become prince. He was extremely earneſt, that the Ionians ſhould break down the bridge, and leave Darius and his army to the vengeance of the Scythians. 'By this ſtroke,' ſaid he, 'the liberties of Ionia will be reſtored, 'and Perſia completely humbled.' A meſſage alſo arrived from the Scythians, preſſing the Ionians to depart, with a promiſe that they would put a final period to the ambitious projects of the Perſian. But Hiſtiæus, tyrant of Miletus, ſaved the king. He repreſented to the ſovereigns of the other Ionian ſtates, 'that their power de-'pended on that of Darius; and that, the dread 'of Perſia once removed, all the Grecian cities 'of Aſia would vindicate their ancient rights, 'and expel them.' In an aſſembly of tyrants, ſuch an argument could not but have its weight. It was carried therefore againſt the opinion of Miltiades, that they ſhould keep their ſtation, and ſecure a retreat to Darius. However, to amuſe the Scythians, they feigned to depart, and actually withdrew thoſe ſhips that were neareſt the Scythian territory; but the reſt of the bridge they left entire, there determining to remain, till they ſhould receive ſome tidings of the Perſian army. After ſome days, Darius arrived on the banks of the Danube, having luckily eſcaped an ambuſcade

ambuſcade of the Scythians, who waited to intercept him. It was night, when he arrived there; and finding the bridge broken, he concluded the Ionians were departed, and began to loſe all hope of ſeeing Perſia more. In this diſtreſs, he commanded a perſon in his army, remarkable for his ſtrength of voice, to call aloud on Hiſtiæus the Mileſian. Hiſtiæus heard the call. The bridge was made up; and Darius with his forces paſſed over.

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

THE king was not long ignorant of the ſingular obligation he owed to the prince of Miletus, whom he offered to reward with whatſoever he ſhould deſire. Hiſtiæus contented himſelf with aſking leave to build a city on the river Strymon in Thrace, a favour which Darius readily granted. But afterwards, liſtening to the malicious inſinuations of the governor of Thrace, who pretended to fear certain dangerous conſequences from this eſtabliſhment, he prevailed on Hiſtiæus to accompany him to Suſa, where, under the ſhew of doing him honour, he detained him, without ſuffering him to return to his native country. So that a ſplendid ſlavery was all the recompence Hiſtiæus had for his fidelity to Darius. Neither was this the whole of his ill fortune. He had left his nephew Ariſtagoras his lieutenant in Miletus. Soon after his departure to Suſa, Ariſtagoras formed a deſign againſt the people of Naxos, and applied to Artaphernes, governor of Aſia the Leſs, and brother to Darius, for aſſiſtance, engaging to ſubject not only Naxos, but all the iſlands of the Egean ſea, and even Eubœa itſelf, to the Perſian power. Artaphernes communicated the plan to Darius, and having obtained his approbation, ſent a fleet of two hundred ſhips under the command of Megabates, with directions that he ſhould receive his inſtructions from Ariſtagoras.

Bef. Chriſt 504.

But

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

But the haughty Perſian, eſteeming it an indignity to obey the orders of a Greek, betrayed the whole deſign to the Naxians, who having prepared vigorouſly for their defence, obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. The miſcarriage was nevertheleſs imputed to the Mileſian governor, and he was required to make good the expences of the expedition.

THIS ſmall ſpark lighted up the flames of war throughout all Ionia. For Ariſtagoras, guided by his reſentments, and fearing the loſs of his government, if not of his life, formed the reſolution of throwing off the Perſian yoke. Whilſt he was thus meditating revenge, a meſſenger arrived from Hiſtiæus, commanding him to revolt againſt the Perſians. He is ſuppoſed to have urged his nephew to this meaſure with the intent, that he himſelf, under pretence of reducing the rebels, might have an opportunity of returning home. However that may be, the meſſage determined Ariſtagoras. His firſt ſtep was to lay down the ſovereignty at Miletus: then taking a progreſs through all the Ionian ſtates, he compelled the ſeveral tyrants to diveſt themſelves of their authority. Liberty alone, he believed, could inſpirit the Ionians at this trying juncture. This done, he paſſed over to Sparta, where, as we have related, his ſuit was rejected by Cleomenes. With the Athenians he had better ſucceſs: their deteſtation of tyrants made them heedleſs of all the conſequences with which this war might be attended. Ariſtagoras would probably have found an active friend, at the beginning of the Ionian troubles, in Miltiades, who hated the Perſian yoke, and had no reaſon to expect much favour of Darius: but this chief had been obliged to quit the Cherſoneſus, at firſt by an incurſion of the Scythians, who in hatred of the Perſians ravaged

Bef. Chriſt 502

Thrace, and then, after a three years enjoyment of his ſovereignty, by the terror of a Phœnician ſquadron in the ſervice of Darius, whom he expected to invade him from Tenedos. Putting all his wealth therefore on board five ſhips, Miltiades had lately withdrawn himſelf to Athens. BOOK V. Sect. 1.

As ſoon as the confederate fleets of Ionia and Athens were in readineſs, they ſailed to Epheſus, together with five ſhips of war furniſhed by the Eretrians. Here the forces landed, and marching directly to Sardis, before the Perſians could have time to be informed of their deſtination, they took the city by ſurpriſe, ſo that Artaphernes with much difficulty ſaved himſelf in the citadel. The houſes of the Sardians were moſtly built of cane: an Athenian ſoldier in the attack threw a lighted torch on one of them, in conſequence of which the whole city was preſently in a blaze, and conſumed entirely. This outrage Darius bore ſo impatiently, that he ſolemnly vowed to take ſignal vengeance on the people of Athens. To remind him of the tranſaction, it ſtands on record, that an officer was appointed ſpecially, who ſhould thrice every day repeat to him theſe words, 'O king, remember the Athenians!' After the deſtruction of the Lydian capital, the confederates, alarmed at the approach of the Perſians, who were now aſſembled in force againſt them, retreated in haſte to Epheſus, where they were attacked by the Perſian army, and defeated with great ſlaughter. From that time, the Athenians fell off from the Ionian league. Some authors think the late ill ſucceſs was the occaſion of this defection; but it was owing more probably to the diviſions they obſerved in the councils of the Ionian confederates. Bef. Chriſt 500.

A SHORT

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

A SHORT gleam of ſucceſs, even after this defeat, continued to encourage the Ionians, eſpecially as they ſtill maintained a ſuperiority at ſea. But in the ſixth year of the war, the Perſians having got together a conſiderable fleet under the command of Otanes and Artaphernes, it was reſolved to attempt Miletus, the chief city of the Ionian confederacy: and the Ionians, perceiving their intention, aſſembled their whole maritime force for its defence, to the number of three hundred and fifty three ſhips. This formidable navy the Perſians ſoon found means to weaken, by drawing off ſeveral of the allied powers; ſo that, when the engagement took place, the Ionians had ſcarcely more than one hundred ſhips, and afforded the Perſians an eaſy victory. The loſs of Miletus was the conſequence, which the Perſians, to ſignalize their vengeance for the burning of Sardis, laid in ruins, condemning all the inhabitants to ſervitude. The other revolted cities of Ionia were treated with the like ſeverity, their temples conſumed, and the choiceſt of their young men and maidens ſent ſlaves to Suſa. Such was the fate of a people, who appear to have periſhed, becauſe they engaged in the glorious cauſe of liberty, without having virtue ſufficient to bear them through it.

Bef. Chriſt 497.

Bef. Chriſt 496.

HISTIÆUS, the chief occaſion of the war, was, as we have ſaid, at Suſa, when it broke out. Nevertheleſs Darius ſuſpected his connection with the malcontents, and charged him with it. The artful Ionian anſwered the king with the moſt ſolemn profeſſions of fealty and attachment, offering to bring all the Ionians back to their allegiance, if he might be permitted to go among them. The king was perſuaded, and Hiſtiæus came to Sardis, where he thought he might eaſily carry on a correſpondence with the confederates; but finding his

his intrigues discovered by Artaphernes, he went over to some of the Grecian islands, and being taken in the course of the war, was hanged by command of Artaphernes, and his head sent to Darius. It is said, the Satrap was apprehensive lest the king should feel his tenderness revive for Histiæus, and on that account he hastened the execution of this dangerous rebel. And accordingly we are told, that when his head was brought to Susa, Darius wept over it. History speaks him a subtle statesman, who sacrificed his country to his private views, and received the punishment justly due to his ambitious, interested counsels. As for Aristagoras, when he saw the affairs of Ionia in a declining state, he with a party of Milesians made his way into Thrace, in hopes to secure a place of refuge, and there he was slain.

THE reduction of Ionia, as might justly have been expected, was the signal for attacking the Athenians. But the Persian monarch was not to be satisfied with retaliating on the particular people who presumed to oppose him in Asia: the entire country of Greece must become a province of his empire. For this purpose he sent embassadors into that country, to summon all its inhabitants to acknowledge the Persian power, by sending him *earth* and *water*, the usual form of submission observed in the East. The Persians were well received by many of the Grecian states, particularly at Ægina, which, as we have mentioned, afforded Cleomenes a pretence for invading that island. But at Sparta and Athens these embassadors were treated with remarkable indignity: they were thrown, one into a *ditch*, and the other into a *well*, and bid to carry to their master the earth and water he required. This insult, an infraction certainly of the law of nations, greatly heightened

Bef. Christ 493.

Book V. Sect. 1. the reſentment of Darius, who immediately ordered Mardonius to march into Greece. The choice he made of this general was due to favour, not to merit: he was a vain young man, unacquainted with the buſineſs of arms; but his riches and noble birth, together with his affinity to the king, whoſe daughter he had received in marriage, obtained him this diſtinction. It ſoon appeared, how little ſuch advantages avail in the field of war: for as he was on the confines of Macedon, encamping in full ſecurity, a party of Thracians attacked him in the night, plundered his camp, and wounded the general himſelf. About the ſame time the Perſian fleet, in ſailing round the point of mount Athos, encountered a ſtorm, in which three hundred ſhips and above twenty thouſand men periſhed. Theſe diſaſters obliged Mardonius to retreat; and Darius, convinced of his incapacity, appointed Datis and Artaphernes generals in his ſtead.

Bef. Chriſt 491. The two commanders ſet out from Aſia with a fleet of ſix hundred ſhips, and an army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men. With this force they ſubdued moſt of the iſlands of the Egean ſea, and made themſelves of Eretria, in the iſland Eubœa, after a ſiege of ſeven days, by the treachery of ſome of its inhabitants. We have obſerved, that this unhappy people had engaged in the Ionian confederacy: the Perſians therefore reſolved to make their puniſhment exemplary. They were given up to the rage of the licentious ſoldiery; their city was reduced to aſhes, and as many of the inhabitants as the ſword ſpared, were ſentenced to perpetual bondage. The Athenians had endeavoured to aſſiſt them, but finding that the city was betrayed, had retired.

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THE Perſians then proceeded to ſpread themſelves into Attica; and Hippias, who led the way to the ravagers of his country, conducted them into the fields of Marathon. Neither the multitude of the enemy, nor the fate of Eretria, diſmayed the Athenians: firm in the cauſe of liberty, they ſaw undaunted this numerous hoſt come againſt them. They had already ſolicited aſſiſtance from the neighbouring ſtates: but the terror of the Perſian arms had poſſeſſed them all, except the Spartans, and thoſe of the little city of Plateæ.—The Spartans, however, had deferred their march, on account of an ancient ſuperſtition, which forbad to enter on any expedition till after the full moon: ſo that of all the nations of Greece the Plateans alone ſhared with the Athenians the danger of this glorious war. When they took the field, they found their numbers extremely inconſiderable; for the Plateans could only furniſh a thouſand men, and the Athenians had no more than ten thouſand, one thouſand out of each tribe. Theſe were commanded by ten captains, among whom was that Miltiades who had reigned in the Thracian Cherſoneſus *, and Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, at this time both young men. To the ten was added Callimachus, the Polemarch of the year: for ſuch, ſays Herodotus, was the cuſtom of the Athenians in thoſe days. Theſe officers were inveſted with equal powers, and were to have the command, each their day, alternately. Bef. Chriſt 490.

IN the firſt council of war it was urged, that they ſhould provide for the defence of the city of Athens, and not hazard an engagement. Miltiades, Ariſtides, Themiſtocles, and two other leaders, warmly maintained the contrary opinion.—The caſting voice was in the Polemarch, to whom Miltiades turning, 'You have it now in your

* See page 284.

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

'option,' ſaid he to him, 'to ſave your country 'from ruin and ſlavery; and the vote, which you 'are this day to give, may render your name 'more illuſtrious than thoſe of Harmodius and 'Ariſtogiton.' Moved by theſe words, the Polemarch concurred with Miltiades, and this gallant band marched on to meet the Perſians. Ariſtides, aware of the inconvenience attending the arrangement we have juſt mentioned, which gave the power alternately to the captains, propoſed that they ſhould all reſign their turns in favour of Miltiades. The propoſal was chearfully agreed to: yet Miltiades deferred engaging, till he was commander in his own right. In the mean time, he endeavoured to add to the ſtrength of his ſmall army, by chooſing advantageous ground at the foot of a mountain where they could not be ſurrounded, and by flanking them with large trees, properly diſpoſed to keep off the Perſian horſe.

AT laſt the important day arrived, and the Athenians drew out to battle. Datis beheld with contempt this handful of men, and haſtened to fall on them, well pleaſed with the opportunity of cutting them off, before the Spartans were come to their aſſiſtance. Little did the Perſian know, what they could atchieve who were prepared to abide every extremity, rather than to live without liberty. Inſtantly as the ſignal was given, the Athenian wings ruſhed impetuous on the enemy, and broke through the Perſian battalia, ſword in hand. The violence of the ſhock began the confuſion of the Perſians, who pent up in too narrow a ſpace, were much incommoded by their own multitudes. The two wings ſoon made their way through the lines of the enemy, and meeting together returned to the aſſiſtance of the Athenian center, where the greateſt preſſure was: for Miltiades had drawn off the flower of the army to the wings;

wings; ſo that Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, who commanded in this part, with much difficulty maintained their ground againſt the vaſt weight of the oppoſite numbers. But the ſucceſs of the wings determined the fate of the battle. The enemy, ſeeing the Athenians bear down all before them, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and were purſued to their ſhips by the brave Athenians, who boarding thoſe that were neareſt the ſhore, took ſeven veſſels. Upwards of ſix thouſand Perſians, according to Herodotus, fell in the engagement, and among them the unworthy Hippias; of the Athenians, only one hundred ninety-two.

SUCH was the iſſue of that memorable day of Marathon, on which was won one of the moſt ſignal victories that hiſtory has recorded; eleven thouſand men putting to flight an army of more than one hundred thouſand, and thoſe too not deſpicable ſoldiers, but ſuch as were fluſhed with their late victories over the Grecian iſlanders and thoſe of Eretria. But as we have before obſerved, every Athenian on this occaſion fought for himſelf; every Athenian was perſonally concerned in the fortune of this important day—he fought for the temples of his gods, for the ſepulchres of his fathers, for all that the habitudes of domeſtic life can render dear; he fought for laws and liberties, ſuch as no change of government could reſtore to him; and if he did not conquer, death, or ſlavery worſe than death, lay before him. Accordingly hiſtorians tell us, that although the diſpoſition and conduct of the battle was the merit of Miltiades, yet was it difficult to ſay, to which of the Athenians the firſt praiſe was due for ſteadineſs of courage and bold atchievements. It was an army of heroes, and they all wrought wonderous things. Juſtin relates an inſtance of that courage, which appears

BOOK V. Sect. 1. appears ſcarcely credible. Cynegyrus*, an officer in the Athenian army, after many extraordinary feats, purſued the Perſians to the ſhore, and with his right hand laid hold on one of their ſhips. His hand was ſtruck off. With the other he ſeized on it again; which being ſtruck off in like manner, he held the veſſel with his teeth, till his firmneſs and his life forſook him together. Herodotus alſo makes mention of him, with ſome little variation in the circumſtances: he tells us, that Cynegyrus fixed his hand on the prow of a Perſian veſſel, and reſolutely kept his hold, until, his hand being ſtruck off with an ax, he fell. But there is another inſtance of the unconquered ſpirit of the Athenians, which ſeems yet more amazing. A certain Athenian ſoldier, the inſtant he ſaw the Perſians were defeated, detached himſelf from the army, and ran towards Athens. The brave man had already had his ſhare in all the fatigues of the late action; and from Marathon to Athens it was ten long miles. Nevertheleſs, full of the glorious tidings, on he went till he entered the city, and reached the houſe of the chief magiſtrate, when, juſt fainting, he retained only ſtrength enough to utter two words, *Joy, victory!* and dropped down dead.

WHAT followed after the battle ſhews, that the ſame ardour inſpired them all. As ſoon as the Perſians were embarked, they bore away towards Athens. Miltiades judged what their deſign was: leaving therefore Ariſtides with his tribe to guard the ſpoil, he marched on with the reſt of the army to ſave the capital. Scarcely had the Athenians any horſe, their whole ſtrength of cavalry in the late battle having only amounted to one hundred horſemen; yet ſuch was the alacrity of their ſpirit, when the dangers of their country called on them,

* Brother to the tragic poet Æſchylus.

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IT is eaſy to form a judgment, how great muſt have been the exultations of a people, who held liberty ſo precious, and who ſaw themſelves and their children reſcued from bondage. Next to thankſgiving to the gods, their firſt care was to do honour to the memory of thoſe brave men who had fallen in defence of their country. The fineſt geniuſes of Athens were employed to rehearſe their praiſes. Noble monuments were raiſed to them on the field of battle, inſcribed with panegyric verſe, together with the names of each individual and of his tribe. And leſt the Athenians ſhould ſeem to uſurp the ſhare of fame that belonged to others, the Plateans alſo, and even the ſlaves, who fell, had diſtinct monuments with ſuitable inſcriptions erected to them. Neither were they forgotten, who returned victorious. The Plateans, and their children for ever, were all admitted to the rank of Athenian denizens. The like honour was conferred on the ſlaves, who had in ſo ſignal a manner approved their faith at the time of peril. As for the Athenian ſoldiers, an exquiſite painting was executed to their honour by the hand of Polygnotus, in which they were repreſented, and at their head Miltiades leading them on to victory. This curious piece, ſet up in one of the public galleries, was the only recompenſe Athens beſtowed on her citizens: it was eſteemed a reward ſufficiently noble, that they ſhould have the glory of ſaving their country.

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BOOK V. Sect. 1.

A READER of feeling will learn with regret, that the man who ſaved Athens had ſoon occaſion to lament her ingratitude. The ill ſucceſs of an expedition, which Miltiades perſuaded his countrymen to undertake, proved his ruin. He had obtained a fleet of ſeventy ſhips, in order to reduce all thoſe iſlands of the Egean ſea which had declared for the Perſians; but having failed before Paros, he was accuſed of treaſonable practices, and fined fifty talents, which not being able to pay, he was thrown into priſon, and died there of a wound received in the expedition. It is much eaſier to account for, than to juſtify this ill requital of the ſervices of Miltiades. It was believed, that in the war with Perſia he ſought to revenge his own private wrongs with more keenneſs, than to ſerve the commonwealth. His victory at Marathon had made him the firſt man of Greece, almoſt too great for a government where all perſons were to be equal. It was alſo but too well remembered, that he had known the poſſeſſion of ſovereign power. All theſe conſiderations united could ſcarcely fail of rendering him obnoxious, eſpecially in a ſtate where even eminent virtue was eſteemed dangerous to liberty.

HOWEVER, amidſt the ruins of his public fortune, Miltiades had the conſolation of enjoying the higheſt of domeſtic bleſſings. He had a ſon, named Cimon. The young man had been accuſtomed to ſplendor and diſtinction: his mother was the daughter of a king; he himſelf was born to the hopes of ſovereignty; and even after his family had retired to Athens, there was not a ſtation in the commonwealth that was beyond his proſpect. Nevertheleſs, when diſgrace had overtaken his father, it became the whole pride of this young man to obſerve him in all his diſtreſs: he accompanied him to priſon, he ſhared the horrors

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of confinement with him, and induſtriouſly ſtudied to ſoften the rigor of his ſufferings by an unwearied tenderneſs and a viſible encreaſe of affection. In ſome time Miltiades died. It was the law at Athens, that perſons impriſoned for a debt to the public, and dying in cuſtody, ſhould be refuſed the rites of ſepulture 'till payment was made. Here Cymon's filial piety ſhewed itſelf again. He beſought that he might be admitted to redeem his dead father's body at the expence of his own liberty, and continued in priſon, 'till by diſpoſing of the little fortune he had, and by the aſſiſtance of friends, he was enabled to diſcharge the mulct. Virtue like this was not permitted by heaven to go without its reward: we ſhall ſoon ſee the ſon of Miltiades become the ſtay and the ornament of his country.

LET us return to Darius. With the utmoſt indignation he received the news of the battle of Marathon, and determined without loſs of time to vindicate the Perſian name by marching in perſon into Greece. Orders were accordingly diſpatched through all the provinces of the empire, that his ſubjects and tributaries ſhould be in readineſs to attend him. In the mean time Egypt revolting, he ſaw himſelf engaged in a double war, for which he began to provide with great vigor. But in the midſt of his preparations death put an end to the ambitious projects of a monarch, who probably would have appeared to much greater advantage, had he not laboured under the malady common to deſpotic princes, that of being corrupted by exceſs of power.

Bef. Chriſt 487.

Bef. Chriſt 485.

AFTER him reigned Xerxes, who did not carry into execution the plan conceived by his father for invading Greece, till ten years after the battle of Marathon; for Xerxes was in the ſixth year of

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

of his reign, when he marched into Greece, and Darius outlived by four years the defeat of Datis and Artaphernes.

THIS interval was not a time of eaſe and inactivity to the Athenian people. Beſides the expedition againſt the Grecian iſlands, they were again engaged in a war againſt thoſe of Ægina. Within the very walls of Athens alſo nothing now was to be ſeen but induſtry and labour: the whole people was employed in uſeful arts; the docks were filled with workmen; new ſhips crouded their ports; the Pirean harbour was opened; and Athens ſeemed already aſpiring to the empire of the deep. It was the genius of Themiſtocles, that wrought this. He foreſaw, that the day of Marathon would only prove the prelude to a ſecond invaſion, to a war far bloodier and more hazardous; and therefore he ſtudied to encreaſe the naval ſtrength of Athens, as the ſureſt means of ſaving his country. Hence likewiſe it was, that he endeavoured to revive the former jealouſies againſt the Æginetæ: he knew they were a people expert and formidable at ſea; and therefore he wiſely judged, that this war would diſtreſs the Athenians, and oblige them to turn their thoughts to maritime affairs. The event anſwered his expectation; for the Athenians found themſelves under the neceſſity of applying to the building of ſhips thoſe public revenues, which aroſe from the ſilver mines of Laurium, and which it had hitherto been uſual to divide among the people. To the ſame purpoſe, Plato takes notice, that by his contrivance meſſengers arrived from Aſia, on the heels one of another, with repeated accounts of the mighty preparations the Perſians were making againſt Greece. By theſe means Themiſtocles diſciplined the minds of his countrymen: the people had the terrors of war continually beſetting them,

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and were exerciſed daily in intrepidity of ſoul, con- BOOK
tempt of danger, and in the practice of arms. V.

THIS great ſtateſman, who was thus inſtru- Sect. 1.
mental to the ſafety and ſplendor of Athens by advancing her to naval power, found a warm opponent to all his meaſures in Ariſtides, who entertained great ſuſpicions of the popularity and influence of Themiſtocles. And ſince we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of the actions of theſe two eminent perſons, it will be uſeful here to introduce them to the reader by a more particular detail of their characters.

THEMISTOCLES was an Athenian not very conſiderable either by his extraction or his riches: but his abilities of nature ſupplied the place of both. Of the moſt extenſive genius, he joined to the ſpirit and boldneſs of the ſoldier the coolneſs and foreſight of the moſt conſummate politician. His thirſt of glory was exceſſive: it appeared from his earlieſt years, in his manners, in his ſtudies; and was the leading feature in his character through life. It was obſerved of him after the battle of Marathon, that his countenance amidſt the general joy was heavy and drooping; at which time, to his friends enquiring the reaſon of the change, he made anſwer, 'The trophies of 'Miltiades will not ſuffer me to reſt!' Thenceforward he dedicated himſelf entirely to the ſervice of his country, the troubles that followed ſupplying ample ſcope for the exerciſe of his talents. We have ſeen, what pains he took to advance the naval greatneſs of Athens. When Xerxes invaded Greece, Themiſtocles was the ſoul of the Grecian councils; and it were doing him high injuſtice not to allow, that the glorious victory at Salamis was the fruit of his wiſdom and courage. In battle, he was a cool, provident commander; though when danger preſſed, none more bold or enterpriſing;

BOOK V. Sect. 1. enterprising; in debate, he was an excellent adviſer, of admirable ſagacity in judging of future events. But with all theſe eminent qualities, he had his faults alſo: he had a ſpirit jealous and ambitious, and was poſſeſſed with an immoderate deſire of honours and diſtinctions. For this purpoſe, he courted popular applauſe, even at the expence of virtue; he amaſſed wealth by unjuſtifiable means, that he might ſquander it in magnificence and pompous donatives; and even on the tribunal of juſtice, his friends were ever ſure to find him a partial and favourable judge.

VERY different was the turn of mind that diſtinguiſhed Ariſtides. Without having the parts which nature had given to Themiſtocles, he had as much courage, and infinitely more probity and intrinſic virtue. Though in circumſtances far from affluent, he retained a ſerene eaſy mind, diſdaining to acquire riches at the price either of integrity or independence. He felt an equal indifference for honours; content with deſerving, he courted them not; and whether in office or diſgrace, he was never obſerved to be either elated or depreſſed. In the obſervation of juſtice, both as a private perſon, and as the miniſter of the laws, he was remarkably ſtrict and blameleſs, neither fear nor favour ever inducing him to ſwerve from the right: ſo that, on account of his unſullied probity, he was honoured with the title of THE JUST ARISTIDES, a title, ſays Plutarch, far more glorious than thoſe ſounding ones of *Conqueror of nations*, and *Taker of cities*, which ſwell the arrogance of the tyrants and ravagers of mankind. He thought the government of the people too boiſterous and licentious; and therefore, at leaſt in his earlier days, he eſpouſed the intereſt of the nobility: a principle, which probably led him to oppoſe Themiſtocles in his

his plan for giving to Athens a naval importance, becauſe, as Plutarch remarks juſtly, power at ſea imparts life and ſtrength to popular government. In war alſo he was great, as well as in peace: he had fought with glory at Marathon, and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf again on other occaſions not leſs important and hazardous. Such a man could not but be dear at Athens. Even the people revered his virtues: and ſo high was the general opinion concerning him, that a poet having in a certain play ſaid of one of the antient chieftains of Greece, 'He would rather be virtuous, than 'appear ſo,' the whole audience did honour to Ariſtides, by applying the glorious eulogy to him. And yet this very excellence of virtue did Themiſtocles lay hold of, as a ground work for ſupplanting this juſt man. At Athens, we have appriſed the reader, extraordinary worth was a kind of *treaſon*. On this principle, it was no difficult matter for Themiſtocles to perſuade the people, that the juſtice of Ariſtides rendered him dangerous, and that a man held in ſuch reverence might eaſily invade the ſovereign power. The jealous Athenians liſtened to the inſinuation, and Ariſtides was baniſhed by the ſentence of oſtraciſm. There happened a circumſtance on this occaſion, which places in a ſtrong light the frenſy of the miſguided populace. Whilſt the people were giving their votes, an ignorant boor, inhabitant of one of the Athenian boroughs, not acquainted with the perſon of Ariſtides, came up to him, and deſired that he would write Ariſtides on his ſhell. 'Why,' anſwered this excellent Athenian, 'did Ariſtides ever injure you?' 'Me? no, not in the leaſt,' reſumed the other; 'I do not even know the man: but it 'galls me to hear him always called THE JUST 'Ariſtides.'—Ariſtides, without further reply, took

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

took the ſhell, and wrote down his own name.—
In the ſame temper of mind he departed out of Athens; and the laſt words he was heard to utter were a prayer for the proſperity of his country—'that the day might never come, when the 'Athenians ſhould be forced to remember 'Ariſtides.' That day however was not far off, and he returned to expoſe his life in defence of thoſe who had doomed him to baniſhment. We ſhall preſently ſee him tried in many hard inſtances, and almoſt in every one of them the ſame calm, upright, brave man. We ſhall ſee him unmoved from his faith to his country even by the ingratitude of his fellow citizens, knowing neither friends nor enemies but thoſe who were ſuch to the public weal, and repaying even the perſon, who had perſecuted him moſt, with kind and generous offices.

BOOK V.

SECTION II.

THE two first years of the reign of Xerxes were employed in reducing the Egyptians, who had revolted. As soon as this expedition was at an end, he prepared to invade Greece, with firm purpose to execute his utmost vengeance on the Spartan and Athenian people. The manner in which the messengers of Darius had been treated by those two Grecian states, the burning of Sardis, the victory at Marathon, were deep in the remembrance of Persia. The princes that remained of the house of Pisistratus solicited, without ceasing, against their country; and the poet Onomacritus, who had followed the fortunes of that wretched family, pretended certain oracles that foreboded ruin to Greece, with glory and conquest to the Persians. Mardonius likewise, who burned with desire of revenging his former ill success,

Bef. Christ 484.

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

ſucceſs, and had a view to the government of Greece, earneſtly urged on the war. He had the ear of Xerxes, and the inſinuating arts and proud boaſtings of this favourite wrought but too effectually on the mind of his vain maſter. Accordingly orders were iſſued, that every nation and language throughout the dominions of the Great King ſhould attend him at Sardis; and the whole Perſian empire was called forth to arms againſt a people, neither in number, nor in extent of territory, to be compared with one of the ſmalleſt of its provinces.

Bef. Chriſt 481.

INTELLIGENCE of theſe formidable preparations arrived early in Greece. Demaratus, late king of Sparta, after his undeſerved expulſion from his throne and country, had retired, as before mentioned, to Suſa, and was now at that court. Grievous as his wrongs had been, all his affection for the land that gave him birth revived within him at this intereſting juncture, and he diſpatched a meſſenger to Sparta with notice of the intended invaſion. Hiſtorians mention the ſubtle method he contrived to conceal the purport of the meſſage. The cuſtom of thoſe days was, to write on waxed tablets. One of theſe tablets Demaratus ſent, but no writing appeared on it. In vain had the ſenate endeavoured to unfold the dark riddle, when Gorgo, wife to king Leonidas, a woman of uncommon penetration as well as eminent virtue, obſerved that the writing muſt be hid under the wax. Trial being made according to her advice, letters were found cut in the board, which gave the Spartans warning of their menaced deſtruction. They immediately communicated to the Athenians the account they had received, and began to provide for their defence.

THE

THE Athenians were not leſs active: the wiſe counſels of Themiſtocles had already taught them to expect the enemy; and as we have noted juſt now, ever ſince their victory at Marathon had they been equipping their fleets, and diſciplining their forces. The council of the Amphictyons was convoked, to deliberate concerning the common ſafety. A ſolemn deputation was ſent to take advice of the Delphic oracle. And to all the ſtates around, even to Gelo king of Syracuſe, application was made for aſſiſtance.

THE event of theſe ſeveral meaſures was various, according to the ſituation of the parties. Gelo, though a prince mighty and opulent, had it not in his power to give aid againſt Xerxes, who had made an alliance with the Carthaginians, in conſequence of which the latter were to attack the Grecian colonies in Sicily, at the ſame time that the Perſians entered Greece. The Amphictyonic council indeed promiſed well. The ſeveral ſtates, there convened, bound themſelves by the moſt ſacred oaths 'to abide all the diſtreſſes of war, and 'to yield up their territories to utter devaſtation, 'rather than to join in league with Xerxes.' We ſhall ſee preſently, how imperfectly theſe glorious reſolutions were made good. As for the Delphic god, his anſwers were dreadful. Attica was doomed to deſolation; Athens was to be overthrown; and her unhappy ſons were commanded to flee away to the fartheſt regions of the earth. Of the ſame kind were the reſponſes to all the nations of Greece that came to conſult at Delphi on this occaſion, menacing and full of terror; and ſome of them were even forbidden to engage in war againſt the Perſians. It is more than probable, that the gold of Xerxes had influenced the ſpirit of the propheteſs. Means however were contrived to ſoften this ill-boding Pythian. The Athenian

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

deputies perſiſted in ſoliciting a more propitious anſwer: and either by their importunities, or rather by the intrigues of Themiſtocles, an oracle of ſomewhat leſs dire import was at length obtained, and ſafety was promiſed to the Athenians, provided they had recourſe to *walls of wood*. Themiſtocles was not at a loſs to interpret the oracle: theſe walls of wood, he told them, were their *ſhips*, to which the god enjoined them to betake themſelves, forſaking their city. The Athenians nevertheleſs were at the firſt unwilling to ſubmit altogether to this expedient, and it was determined that they ſhould try their ſtrength by land as well as by ſea. Two other propoſals, made by Themiſtocles at this time, reflected not leſs honour on that excellent ſtateſman: the firſt, that whatever cauſe of war Athens might have againſt any of the ſtates of Greece, all reſentment ſhould ceaſe immediately, and a firm peace be concluded. By this an end was put to the war againſt Ægina. The other imported, that all citizens of Athens, who were then in exile, ſhould have leave to return and defend their country. This decree was meant in favour of Ariſtides. From the moment Athens was in hazard, Themiſtocles knew no intereſt but her's; all private regards were abſorbed in his concern for the public good.

Bef. Chriſt 480.

Six years had Xerxes reigned, four of which he had employed in making ready for war. And now appeared in arms the greateſt multitude, that ever was collected together under the banners of a ſingle prince. His land forces amounted to one million eight hundred thouſand men: his fleet was compoſed of twelve hundred and ſeven ſhips of three banks of oars, and three thouſand ſmaller veſſels, having on board five hundred and ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and ten men, beſides

beſides the train of ſervants and the perſons that carried proviſions. With this prodigious fleet was the whole Helleſpont covered, while Xerxes at the head of his armies was marching down to Abydus, elate with the proſpect of victory, and already enjoying his triumphs over Greece. The princes that attended him were but too induſtrious in encouraging theſe fond expectations: for ſuch is the condition of kings, the language of ſincerity is ſeldom ſpoken to them; and in all the retinue of this lord of millions one perſon only was there found, who would venture to adviſe him with unfeigned affection. This was Artabanus, uncle to the king. He had often endeavoured to diſſuade him from an enterpriſe, to which there was no other inducer but ambition. 'The 'Grecians,' ſaid he, 'are a brave people. They 'proved it on the day of Marathon: the Athe-'nians alone proved it on that fatal day: and 'who can tell what Greece united may do againſt 'you? You pride yourſelf in the numbers that 'follow you. But is not the fate of kingdoms 'weighed in heaven? and may not the ſovereign 'arbiter of events give power and victory to the 'weakeſt, and in one moment ſink the moſt 'flouriſhing empire to the duſt?' Theſe ſage remonſtrances availed nothing: they were liſtened to indeed without reſentment; but the poiſon of evil counſels had taken poſſeſſion of this unhappy prince.

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

MEAN while the land forces were preparing to paſs over into Europe, a bridge of ſhips having been laid from the Aſiatic ſide to the Thracian Cherſoneſus. For ſeven days, and as many nights, were they moving on without interruption. When Xerxes was arrived on the European coaſt, all

BOOK V. Sect. 2. the princes of Thrace, of Macedonia, and the neighbouring parts joined him with their forces; ſo that his army now conſiſted of two millions one hundred thouſand fighting men.

THE diſtreſs and terror of Greece at this inundation of war was encreaſed by the defection of ſeveral of her own ſtates. Xerxes before his departure from Sardis had ſent heralds to every Grecian people, the Athenians and Spartans excepted, to demand earth and water, and many of them had ſubmitted. Some of the Theſſalians had long ſince been in the Perſian intereſt, and moſt of the other nations of Theſſaly now declared for Xerxes. Their example was followed by the Locri Ozolæ, and thoſe of mount Cnemis. And the Thebans, with the other inhabitants of Bœotia, all but the Theſpians and the valiant Plateans, were ſuſpected of favouring the enemy. In Peloponneſus alſo there was great diſaffection. The people of Argos refuſed to take concern in a war, the proſperous event of which could only render their domeſtic ſituation more wretched, by adding to the power and arrogance of Sparta. They decreed, that none of the nations of Argolis ſhould preſume to aid the Lacedemonians, until this people had reſigned all the territories they had uſurped. And there is reaſon to believe, that many other of the Peloponneſians, who had long groaned under the Spartan yoke, rather wiſhed the deſtruction of that haughty, inhoſpitable city. Such was the calamitous ſtate of Sparta and Athens; their ſtrength inconſiderable, their allies few and wavering; whilſt new ſupplies were daily crouding in to the Perſians.

THE firſt meaſure adopted by the confederate Greeks was to ſend off the Spartan king Leonidas with four thouſand men to ſecure the important paſs

pass of Thermopylæ, and to station the fleet at Artemisium for the purpose of guarding the entrance into the Eubœan straights. They had previously attempted to possess themselves of the passages into Thessaly by mount Olympus, and ten thousand men had been detached thither with that intent: but Alexander king of Macedon, who, though in friendship with the Persians, was well affected to the Athenian people, sent them word, that if they remained in that place, they must inevitably be trampled under foot by the multitudes that were coming against them. In consequence of this intelligence, the Greeks thought it expedient to retire. BOOK V. Sect. 2.

The command of the confederate fleet was given to Eurybiades, a Spartan; a choice extremely remarkable, since the Athenians were now confessed the first maritime power of Greece. But it must be observed, that on this very account most of the confederates envied this brave people. Themistocles therefore, who dreaded nothing more than divided councils, urged his countrymen to wave their pretensions, and to esteem any place a place of honour, so that they might have the happiness of saving Greece. The advice of this great patriot prevailed, and Eurybiades, in deference to his country, was appointed admiral. This fleet had been furnished by the Athenians, Lacedemonians, Corinthians, Trœzenians, Epidaurians, Sicyonians, Megareans, the people of Eubœa, the Locri of Opus, and the Chians; and it consisted of two hundred seventy one ships, of which the Athenians had fitted out one hundred and forty seven, and the Lacedemonians only ten.

The king of Persia continued his march through Thessaly, his wide-spreading host consuming all the provisions of the country, and drying up whole

BOOK V. Sect. 2. whole rivers, as they paſſed. At the ſame time, his fleets had extended themſelves along the Theſſalian coaſt: he had cauſed a canal to be cut at the foot of mount Athos, and through this new paſſage the Perſians had made their way to the Thermaic gulph, and were now holding on their courſe towards Eubœa. When Eurybiades had intelligence, that this formidable navy was advancing againſt him, and that the veſſels he had ſtationed for obſervation at the iſland of Sciathus had either fled or fallen into the hands of the enemy, he ſailed away from Artemiſium to Chalcis. But heaven watched over Greece. A violent ſtorm aroſe, by which the Perſians, incapable from their numbers to work their veſſels, or find harbours ſufficiently capacious, were driven on the promontories and ſhallows of Magneſia, where four hundred of their ſhips were loſt, with the greateſt part of their crews. The confederates, on receiving theſe tidings, returned to Artemiſium: the Perſians alſo in ſome time reſumed their courage, and moved on ſouthward. As the enemy approached, the ſpirit of the Grecian admiral again forſook him, and he would certainly have abandoned the Eubœan coaſt, had not the earneſt entreaties of Themiſtocles, together with a ſeaſonable bribe of three talents from the Eubœans, prevailed on him to abide there, and defend the Euripus.

THE Perſians were now preparing to deſtroy theſe preſuming Greeks, for ſuch they appeared in their eyes, and confident of victory, had even ſent two hundred ſhips round Eubœa to intercept them in their flight. They had alſo propoſed large rewards to thoſe who ſhould bring in any of the Athenian ſhips; for theſe they held in eſteem above all the reſt of the confederate fleet. But their vaunting expectations were ſoon fruſtrated.

In the firſt engagement, the Perſians loſt thirty ſhips, and would probably have ſuffered much more, had not the coming on of night put an end to the conteſt. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that this ſucceſs was chiefly due to the conduct and valour of Themiſtocles and his gallant countrymen. BOOK V. Sect. 2.

THE night that followed was a night of much horror to the Perſians; their men diſmayed, their fleet broken and diſperſed: and in the midſt of this diſtreſs, they were ſurpriſed by a ſecond ſtorm far more violent than the firſt, accompanied with impetuous rains and dreadful thunders. In this ſtorm the two hundred ſhips, that had been ordered to ſail round the iſland, were all loſt. Theſe repeated calamities ſunk the hopes of the haughty enemy; whilſt on the other hand the confederates, having received a reinforcement of fifty three Athenian ſhips, purſued the *barbarians* (as the Grecian writers affect to ſtyle them) even to Aphetæ, and deſtroyed a conſiderable ſquadron belonging to the Cilicians. Moved by this inſult, and dreading the indignation of Xerxes, the Perſian commanders determined at all hazards once more to attempt the Eubœan ſtreights: forming their fleet therefore in ſuch a manner as to encloſe the Grecians, they ſailed forth towards Artemiſium. Neither were the confederates fearful of the iſſue. So that now followed a bloody and obſtinate engagement; the Perſians, animated by the ſhame of their late ill ſucceſs, exerting their whole ſtrength to open themſelves a paſſage into the Euripus, and the Grecians likewiſe ſummoning forth their utmoſt vigour, and earneſtly encouraging one another to defend their common country. At length Greece prevailed; and the Perſians, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority of numbers, were compelled to retire. But the glory

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

glory of this day was ſoon converted into terror and lamentation. An expreſs arrived with an account, that Leonidas and thoſe with him were ſlain at Thermopylæ, and that Xerxes had forced his way into Phocis.

LEONIDAS, we have ſaid, marched to Thermopylæ at the head of four thouſand men. Of theſe, three hundred only were Spartans: the reſt were from different parts of Peloponneſus, excepting ſeven hundred from Theſpiæ, and from Thebes four hundred. The Thebans were thought to be in connection with the Perſians; and therefore out of that ſuſpected people Leonidas choſe four hundred, as pledges of the faith of their countrymen. Hiſtorians are in general agreed, that Leonidas did not expect to return from this expedition. The Delphic prieſteſs, it ſeems, had declared, that unleſs a perſon of the royal line of the Heraclidæ fell in this war, Sparta muſt be overthrown; and this generous prince had determined to offer himſelf the victim for his country, and to abide death at Thermopylæ. The reader has been already made acquainted with the ſituation of this famed ſtreight. It led the way from Theſſaly into the more ſouthern provinces of Greece; and ſo narrow was it in ſome parts, that ſcarcely could a chariot paſs through. On either ſide of it nature had formed vaſt, formidable encloſures: to the weſt roſe the high and craggy mount Œta, and on the eaſt was the Maliac bay, and a moraſs deep and inacceſſible. The Phocians had formerly built a wall with gates acroſs this paſs, to ſecure themſelves againſt the incurſions of the Theſſalian tribes. Through length of time and neglect the wall had fallen down; but the Greeks now raiſed it up again. And here did Leonidas and his men wait the approach of the Perſians.

XERXES,

XERXES, until he came hither, had not met with the leaſt oppoſition; all the nations through which he marched paying him homage, and ranging themſelves under his banners. This gleam of ſucceſs added to the vanity of this ill-fated prince, and in his thoughts Greece was already in ſubjection. The ſame infatuation poſſeſſed him even at Thermopylæ: he promiſed to himſelf, that Leonidas would either ſubmit or take flight, as ſoon as he ſhould ſee what myriads were moving on againſt him. However, ſcouts were ſent to obſerve the appearance and number of theſe daring Grecians. It happened, that the Spartans were that day on guard, at the outſide of the wall. Some were performing their exerciſes, others adjuſting their hair: for to that warlike people the day of battle was the only day of ſhew and ornament; and their ſtudy to dreſs themſelves was obſerved always to riſe in proportion to the greatneſs of the peril, to which they meant to expoſe their lives. The meſſengers reported what they had ſeen to their ſovereign, adding further, that the enemy ſeemed to take no notice of thoſe who obſerved them, but ſuffered them to retire at leiſure. Surpriſed at the account, Xerxes ſent for Demaratus, whom he had obliged to accompany him in this expedition, and required of him to ſay, what might be the purpoſe of the Spartans. 'They are come,' ſaid the king, 'to defend that paſs, or die in the attempt.'—'Ridiculous,' anſwered Xerxes, 'what, againſt millions?'—'Whether againſt many, or againſt few, it is indifferent to them,' replied Demaratus; 'for Spartans never flee.' Xerxes believed him not: he waited therefore four days, expecting they would diſperſe. On the fifth day, finding they ſtill held their ſtation, he was moved with

BOOK V. Sect. 2. with anger at their inſolence, and ordered the Medes, together with the ſons and brothers of thoſe who had been ſlain at Marathon, to take them alive, and bring them to him. Theſe orders of Xerxes were ill executed; for the brave Grecians repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter. Freſh troops ſucceeded in the place of the firſt, but with equal ill ſucceſs: this continued encreaſe of numbers contributed only to ſwell the glory of Leonidas and his gallant companions. At length the Medes, unable any longer to ſuſtain the fight, drew off, and Hydarnes advanced at the head of the *ten thouſand*: theſe were the band which the Perſians called *immortal*, and were eſteemed the flower of Xerxes' army. Their fate was not happier than that of the Medes: routed, after many vigorous but fruitleſs efforts, with grievous loſs, they were forced to deſiſt. Hiſtorians tell us, that Xerxes, in anguiſh of ſoul at the condition of his men, ſtarted thrice from his ſeat during the action. The enſuing day, the Perſians, induced by the ſuppoſed weakneſs of the Greeks, and judging that after ſuch a day as the laſt they would be ſcarcely able to make reſiſtance, renewed the attack. But the ſame unabated courage ſtill inſpired theſe generous men; and this mighty hoſt, beaten back, terrified, hopeleſs, were obliged to abandon the hazardous enterpriſe.

IN this doubtful ſtate of affairs, Xerxes promiſed a high reward to any one who could adviſe the means of deſtroying the Greeks; when a wretch was found, a Grecian too, of ſoul baſe enough to ſell the lives of theſe glorious patriots, and for vile gold to give up Greece to bondage. Hiſtory has preſerved the name of the accurſed traitor: he was called Epialtes, and was a native of Trachin, a city in Theſſaly. There lay a way over the mountains to Thermopylæ; and by this road Epialtes engaged

engaged to lead the Perſians into the very paſs, where Leonidas and his men were poſted. Accordingly Xerxes commanded Hydarnes and the *immortal band* to follow him, who towards evening began their march. BOOK V. Sect. 2.

LEONIDAS ſoon had notice of the danger that threatened him: a Grecian in the army of Xerxes deſerted to his countrymen with the intelligence. Immediately this brave prince called a council of war, at which he declared his pleaſure, that all his people, except the three hundred Spartans, and the four hundred from Thebes of whoſe faith he doubted, ſhould return to the Iſthmus, and reſerve themſelves for better times. 'But as for me, ſaid he to them, 'here will I, and my Spartans 'with me, defend the ſtation appointed to us. 'Our atchievements prepare you victory. Perſia 'ſhall know from us, what the undaunted cou-'rage of even an handful of Greeks can perform 'againſt her boaſted numbers. Farewel, and tell 'Sparta, that Leonidas dieth for her.' We may judge, what were the laſt partings of men like theſe. Many of the confederates requeſted earneſtly, that they might ſtay and ſhare the fate of the Spartans. But Leonidas prevailed on them all to depart, the Theſpians excepted: they alone obſtinately refuſed to leave Thermopylæ, and Leonidas was forced to yield to their entreaties.

WHEN the reſt of the confederates were thus withdrawn, the king commanded his ſoldiers to take ſome refreſhment: 'and,' added he, 'take 'it chearfully; our next meal ſhall be with the 'inviſible gods.' Their repaſt finiſhed, and all being ready in arms, this hero put in execution one of the boldeſt ſchemes that ever were conceived. It was now dark, and by the next dawn the party that was coming over the mountain might probably reach Thermopylæ. He there-

fore

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

fore propoſed, that they ſhould break into the Perſian camp, while the obſcurity of the night favoured them, and if poſſible, make their way to the royal pavilion, and kill Xerxes. No taſk could be more grateful to the ſpirited Grecians. Inſtantly, with Leonidas leading them on, they ruſhed out of the paſs, and falling in among the enemy, made incredible ſlaughter; for the barbarians neither knew the number of their aſſailants, nor on what ſide to defend themſelves, and in the confuſion many of them fell by the hands one of the other. In the mean time, the horror and conſternation ſpread from place to place; and it is believed that Xerxes himſelf would that night have paid the price of invaded Greece, had he not in the beginning of the alarm fled from his tent; for the Spartans ſoon forced a paſſage to it, and put to the ſword as many as came in their way. Thus it was, till day appeared. But when the Perſians became ſenſible with what an inconſiderable number they had been engaged, they began to take courage, though without daring to approach near to them, but annoying them at a diſtance with darts and other miſſile weapons.

Nor long after, the ſhouts from Thermopylæ gave notice to the Greeks, that the Perſians were at the bottom of the mountain. Retreating therefore to that part where the path was narroweſt, they here again maintained the fight both againſt thoſe behind, and againſt the others that poured in at the mouth of the ſtreight. In this unequal conflict Leonidas ſoon was ſlain: and ſuch was the amazing valour of the few ſurviving Greeks, that four times they reſcued his corpſe out of the hands of the Perſians. At length they all fell, oppreſſed, not conquered, the terror of Xerxes even in their deaths; and as a judicious hiſtorian obſerves, to them in a great meaſure ought to be

aſcribed

aſcribed the victories that followed. From that day, the barbarians were half defeated before they engaged: they brought with them into battle an enfeebled and deſponding ſpirit, ſcarcely daring to preſent their faces to men, to whom they well knew no form of death was affrighting. It may be needleſs to ſay, that along with the Spartans, all the Theſpians fell alſo. As for thoſe of Thebes, from the moment they ſaw the victory incline to the Perſians, they held up their hands, and ſubmitted. Of the three hundred Spartans but a ſingle man eſcaped, who had left the army before the engagement. It is from Herodotus we have this particular, and he adds ſome circumſtances worth notice.

Two Spartans, afflicted with a ſevere diſtemper in their eyes, obtained permiſſion from Leonidas to retire to Alpeni, a town in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ: the name of the one was Eurytus, of the other, Ariſtodemus. When Eurytus heard that the Perſians were coming by the way of the mountain, he called for his arms, and ordering his ſervant to lead him into the field of battle, ruſhed in among the thickeſt of the enemy, where he loſt his life. The other returned ſafe to Sparta: but ſo baſe was he accounted for having refuſed to die at ſuch a juncture, that none of his fellow citizens would converſe with him, and he was ſtigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of Ariſtodemus *the fugitive*. The man made glorious amends at the battle of Plateæ, where he was ſlain, after exhibiting many amazing proofs of valour.

IMMEDIATELY on receiving the mournful tidings of the fall of Leonidas, it was reſolved, that the Grecian fleet ſhould bear away from the Euripus for Athens. However Themiſtocles, even in this diſtracting ſituation of their affairs, deviſed

BOOK V. Sect. 2. deviſed an artifice to weaken the Perſians, or at leaſt to introduce diſtruſt and jealouſies among them. He ordered inſcriptions to be fixed on the ſeveral rocks that lay along thoſe parts of the Eubœan coaſt whither it was likely they ſhould come, containing earneſt invitations to the Ionians, who ſerved in the fleets of Xerxes. 'What folly, O 'Ionians, has poſſeſſed you, to aſſiſt your tyrants, 'the ſworn enemies of your religion and laws, 'and to engage againſt your friends, your coun-'trymen, the founders of your ſtates, the aſſertors 'of your liberties, who had not now felt the diſ-'treſſes of war, had they not taken up arms to 'reſcue you from ſlavery and deſtruction? For-'ſake therefore this unnatural alliance: or if re-'gard to your ſafety forbids it, remember at leaſt, 'when the battle is joined, to reſt on your oars, 'and fall off from the Perſians.' It does not appear, that theſe repreſentations produced much. Herodotus tells us, that moſt of the Ionians, particularly at Salamis, fulfilled their engagements faithfully.

WHEN the confederate fleet arrived at Athens, they found all things there in confuſion at the expected approach of the Perſians. The greater part of the people ſeemed nevertheleſs determined to remain and defend the city. In vain did Themiſtocles repreſent to them the impoſſibility of ſucceſs; in vain did he repeat the declaration of the god, that Athens muſt owe her ſafety to her walls of wood. This very oracle many of them fondly interpreted of their citadel, the Acropolis, which was ſurrounded with wooden pales; and here did they reſolve to wait the promiſed deliverance. In this diſtreſs, he thought it neceſſary to intereſt their ſuperſtition: the prieſts were prevailed on to ſay, that for ſome days the *ſacred dragon* had refuſed to eat, that now it had diſappeared, and that the

the goddeſs herſelf had certainly left the city, and taken her flight before them towards the ſea. By theſe means the counſel of Themiſtocles prevailed. A ſolemn decree was paſſed, that Athens ſhould be recommended to the protection of Minerva; that all thoſe who were of years to bear arms, ſhould embark; and that all poſſible care ſhould be taken to provide for the ſafety of the old men, the women, the children, and the ſlaves. Thus the people marched out of Athens, all except ſome few, who obſtinately truſting in the miſtaken oracle, retired to the Acropolis: the reſt, old and young, went on board, amidſt mutual tears, and the tendereſt partings. Never was there ſeen a more affecting ſpectacle: a whole people forſaking their antient dwellings, the place of their nativity, the temples of their gods, the monuments of their anceſtors; women holding out their helpleſs infants to the embraces of their fathers; parents, bent down with age, hanging about the necks of thoſe ſons whom probably they were never to behold more. Even the domeſtic animals*, Plutarch tells us, expreſſed their mournings in various ways, and with diſmal yellings followed down to the utmoſt verge of the ſhore the maſters that had nouriſhed them. A melting ſcene! but what would not the Athenians have endured for the ſake of liberty?—The aged, the women, and children were ſent over, part of them to Salamis, and part to Trœzen. At Trœzen, the inhabitants thought they could never ſufficiently ſignalize their affection towards a people, who had forſaken all to fight the battles of Greece. It was decreed, that as many of the Athenians as had taken refuge among them ſhould be maintained out of the revenues of the ſtate; that their children ſhould have

Themiſt.

* The dog of Xanthippus (the father of Pericles) ſwam by his maſter's galley all the way from Attica to Salamis, and expiring when he reached the ſhore, the Athenians raiſed a monument to him, extant in Plutarch's time.

leave

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

leave to gather fruits where they pleaſed; and that maſters ſhould be appointed, at the public charge, to inſtruct them.

In the mean time Xerxes was holding on his courſe towards Athens. After the death of Leonidas and his glorious band, he had given leave to his naval forces at Artemiſium to come on ſhore, and be witneſſes of their maſter's victory; but that they might not know at what an expence it had been purchaſed, care was taken to conceal the bodies of thoſe who had been ſlain on the Perſian ſide: hiſtorians ſay, they were not fewer than twenty thouſand. He had alſo, in mean revenge, ordered the body of Leonidas to be impaled: ſo little did Xerxes know how to honour real virtue. This done, he entered Greece, where all oppoſition ſeemed to ceaſe before him. The Phocians were fled to the heights of the mountains; the Locrians of Cnemis, the inhabitants of Doris, and they of Bœotia had ſubmitted, and joined him with their forces: ſo that through the whole country not one enemy appeared againſt him. Surpriſed at this, Xerxes, it is ſaid, enquired of certain Arcadian deſerters, where the Grecians were. 'They are now,' anſwered they, 'celebrating the Olympic games.' 'And what is 'the prize they contend for?' demanded Tigranes, a noble Perſian. 'An olive crown,' ſaid the Arcadians. 'O Mardonius,' Tigranes cried out, 'againſt what men have you perſuaded us to 'make war! they fight not for gold and ſilver, 'but only for virtue.' This ſenſible obſervation glanced pointleſs over the heart of Xerxes, and on he marched, glorying in his promiſed conqueſts.

Desolation accompanied the ſteps of the Perſian monarch, as he proceeded through Phocis. He waſted their lands, he raſed their cities, he burnt their temples—that of Delphi only excepted. There, the ſuperſtitious pagans tell us, the god,

god, who had neglected other temples *less wealthy*, interposed avowedly in defence of this. The arms that were in the sacred arsenal moved out spontaneously, and placed themselves before the temple gates: part of the mountain, on which the temple stood, fell with a horrid noise, and crushed many of the barbarians: voices were heard, spectres were seen, and even thunder from heaven was darted down on them: so that, terrified at these direful appearances, they fled away precipitately. Whatever was the cause, certain it is, that the Delphic temple was not pillaged.

FROM Phocis the Persians entered Bœotia, where Thespiæ and Platææ, the two only cities of those parts that had not betrayed their country, were laid in ruins. The road now led to Athens, where, as we have said, none remained but the few in the Acropolis, most of them old feeble men, and pales of wood their only rampart. Nevertheless they boldly maintained their ground against this multitude of enemies, even after their wooden fortifications were in a blaze around them: and though the Pisistratidæ offered to obtain them honourable terms, if they would submit, yet did these brave men refuse to purchase life at a price so dear, and died all sword in hand. The Persians wreaked their wrath on the city: they demolished the greater part of it, and destroyed its temples and the most stately of its buildings with fire.

WHEN the Grecians on board the fleet saw that Athens was in the power of the Persians, a panic seized on all, and each people began to fear for themselves. Especially the Peloponnesian allies insisted, that the fleet should sail away immediately to protect the Isthmus. They had land-forces already assembled there, which had looked on the desolation of Attica without interposing for its de-

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

fence, and had even begun a wall to encloſe Peloponneſus, and prevent the irruption of the Perſians. But Themiſtocles, beſides his concern for thoſe at Salamis, who by this meaſure were to be given up to certain deſtruction, wiſely judged that the diſperſion of the fleet muſt be the certain conſequence of their leaving Salamis; or ſhould they be kept together, the Greeks, he knew, never could engage on equal terms againſt ſuch a fleet as the Perſians were maſters of, except in narrow ſeas, where induſtry and courage might ſupply the place of numbers. Accordingly, a council being convened, he delivered his opinion with becoming earneſtneſs. Eurybiades was againſt him, and would have enjoined him ſilence: but warmed by the diſtreſſes of his country, Themiſtocles ſtill perſiſted; when the haughty Spartan, impatient of controul, raiſed his admiral's ſtaff to ſtrike him. Themiſtocles bore it. This brave Athenian, bold as he was in arms, in the vigour of life, general for a free ſtate, and commander of the greateſt part of the confederate fleet, bore the inſult without the leaſt violent emotion, and by a calm ſenſible reply, infinitely more keen than the retortings of wrath, completely humbled the imperious Lacedemonian: 'Strike,' ſaid he to Eurybiades, 'but hear me.' Eurybiades, with all his pride, bluſhed, and dropt his arm.

THEMISTOCLES then preſſed the Grecians by a number of convincing arguments not to leave Salamis, but to try the fortune of a battle. In the midſt of his diſcourſe, he was again interrupted by Adiamantus, admiral of the Corinthians: 'They,' ſaid he, 'might be permitted to ſpeak 'thus, who have an home to contend for.'—'Ungenerous reproach!' anſwered Themiſtocles: 'ſhall the Athenians be told this, they, who have 'abandoned all to fight for Greece? But know,

'proud

'proud Corinthian, that while the Athenians have this power at sea, they never can want an home. Even on the Italic coast have we cities, where we have homes prepared for us, and where those very Athenians, you dare thus to insult, might enjoy liberty and peace, were we not moved by the miseries of our common country.' In short, the force of Themistocles' words prevailed, and it was resolved to remain at Salamis.

However, one or two days after, when the Persian fleet came up from Eubœa, (for they staid there some days to ravage the island) and the Grecians beheld the seas spread over with the ships of the barbarians, their fears revived, and most of the commanders seemed unwilling to wait a general engagement. Themistocles dreaded the consequence of those wavering counsels, and to bring them to an issue, formed a design equally artful and adventurous. He sent a trusty messenger to the king of Persia to give him intelligence, 'that 'he now had an opportunity of destroying at one 'blow the whole naval power of Greece; that the 'admirals were meditating to depart, each to the 'defence of his own country; and that if he did not 'take care to prevent their escape, he would find 'himself involved in a tedious, expensive war.' It soon appeared, how just were the apprehensions of Themistocles. The following night, at the instance of the chief commanders, a council was assembled, and the question for leaving Salamis was moved again with great vehemence.

During these debates, the great Aristides joined the fleet. He owed his banishment to Themistocles: yet to this commander he first addressed himself. 'We have long,' said he to him, 'contended one with the other about authority 'and place. Let us put an end to this mean con-

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

'teſt, and from this day ſtrive only, which of 'us ſhall perform the moſt faithful ſervice to his 'country—you, in adviſing like a provident able 'counſellor—I, in punctually executing your 'commands. Shortly ſhall we have an opportu-'nity of making proof of our zeal for the cauſe 'of Greece: the enemies are already ſurround-'ing us on every ſide, and with difficulty have I 'made my way hither from Ægina.'—'O Ariſti-'des,' Themiſtocles anſwered, 'how have you 'outdone me! this noble cordiality of yours co-'vers me with confuſion. But I will not be left 'behind: it ſhall be the endeavour of my whole 'life to equal this magnanimous precedent, and 'to cultivate the friendſhip and eſteem of the no-'ble Ariſtides.' He then confided to him the ſecret, that it was by his contrivance Xerxes was forcing them to an engagement, and beſought him to go in, and inform the council of the poſture of the enemy. They heard the account with wonder, and ſeemed ſcarcely to give credit to it, when a ſhip belonging to ſome of the Grecian iſlanders came over to them from the Perſians with a confirmation of the report. The neceſſity of affairs reſtored unanimity among the allies, and all made ready for battle.

SOON as day appeared, they diſcovered the Perſian fleet, ranged in dreadful ſhew of war; for it conſiſted of more than four thouſand ſhips, whilſt the Grecians had not four hundred. The Athenians nevertheleſs, led on by Themiſtocles, bore down on the enemy with the reſolution of men who had every deareſt concern at ſtake, and were ſeconded by the reſt of the fleet. The Perſians alſo at firſt exerted themſelves vigorouſly; for they were now in preſence of their king, who had ordered a throne to be erected for him on the Attic ſhore, that he might enjoy the expected victory.

tory. But the order, the naval ſkill, and ſuperior courage of the confederates quickly changed the face of things. The Aſiatics, notwithſtanding the weight and multitude of their ſhips, found themſelves unable to withſtand the regular and intrepid charge of the Grecian fleet; and when the confuſion was once begun, their very numbers proved fatal to them, as they wanted ſea-room, and many of their veſſels, in the hurry of the flight, fell foul one of the other. All this time, the Athenians and thoſe of Ægina (for they above all others diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this glorious day) were preſſing them in cloſe purſuit; ſo that of all the ſhips they came up with, ſcarcely any eſcaped being either ſunk or taken.

THE reader will judge for himſelf, what was now the condition of the preſumptuous Xerxes. The firſt workings of his rage were terrible. Some of the Phœnician commanders happening to approach him, he ordered their heads to be ſtruck off, though they deſerved to be accounted among the beſt and faithfulleſt of his ſervants. At length, Mardonius endeavoured to appeaſe the king. He extenuated the loſs he had received; he aſſured him, that notwithſtanding his diſgrace at ſea, Peloponneſus muſt ſubmit, and that his land forces alone were ſufficient to ſpread deſolation through every part of Greece: 'But if the king,' 'ſaid he, 'would rather return to Aſia, let three 'hundred thouſand men be entruſted to me, and 'my life ſhall anſwer for the ſucceſs.' The propoſal pleaſed Xerxes; for that unhappy prince dreaded nothing more than the event of a battle. He was alſo adviſed to accept of Mardonius' offer by Artemiſia queen of Caria, who had acquitted herſelf glorioufly in the late engagement, and for her abilities was honoured by Xerxes above all the princes that attended him. Immediately after,

arrived

BOOK V. Sect. 2. arrived a meſſenger from Themiſtocles, to deſire him to haſten away with all poſſible expedition, if he meant to ſave his life, for that the Grecians were preparing to cut off his retreat. It ſeems, the Grecian commanders had it in deliberation to deſtroy the bridge which had been thrown acroſs the Helleſpont, that Xerxes and all his army might periſh. In vain had Themiſtocles repreſented to them, that the Perſians ſtill had a very formidable force, and that deſpair would make even cowards brave: when he found his opinion was ſet aſide, he adviſed with Ariſtides, and ſent off a truſty meſſenger to the Perſian king. Xerxes therefore, terrified at this proſpect, ſtole off with ſome few choſen men, and fled away towards the Helleſpont. When he arrived there, the bridge had been broken by ſtorms; but his fears making him ſuppoſe the enemy at his heels, he paſſed over, at the hazard of his life, in a ſmall veſſel, and hardly reached Abydus, not having ſo much as taken off his garments, according to ſome hiſtorians, ſince the action at Salamis. So changed was the fortune of this mighty emperor of Aſia! Mardonius ſoon followed, and took up his winter quarters in Theſſaly.

THE earlieſt attention of the victors, after ſo glorious a ſucceſs, was to pay their ſolemn thanksgivings to the gods, protectors of Greece. Amidſt the gloom of paganiſm, that generous people wanted not diſcernment to perceive, that to the favour of heaven was to be aſcribed the good fortune that crowned their arms. The next public concern was to confer ſuitable honours on thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country. Among theſe Themiſtocles was the firſt. The wiſdom of his counſels, his coolneſs and conduct in the day of battle, his ſuperiority

periority of naval ſkill, eaſily obtained him a marked degree of eminence. The Lacedemonians themſelves, with all their natural pride, conceded to him the ſame diſtinctions, as they beſtowed on Eurybiades, decreeing to this laſt the prize of *valour*, to Themiſtocles the prize of *wiſdom*. They even invited him to Sparta, where they preſented him with a ſumptuous chariot, and at his departure ordered him to be attended to their frontiers by three hundred youths of noble birth; an honour, ſuch as Sparta never paid to any but Themiſtocles. What opinion alſo the Grecian chiefs of other ſtates had of his abilities, appeared on a remarkable occaſion. After a naval victory, it was uſual that the commanders ſhould aſſemble in the temple of Neptune on the Iſthmus, and write upon billets taken from the altar the names of thoſe that had fought beſt—every captain wrote down his own name, and next, that of Themiſtocles. But the higheſt honour Themiſtocles enjoyed, was at the enſuing Olympic feſtival. As ſoon as he appeared, the whole croud of ſpectators ſent forth the loudeſt acclamations of joy, and inſtead of obſerving the games, attended to nothing but the illuſtrious Athenian, admiring him, and deſiring all ſtrangers there to behold 'the deliverer of his country.' It is ſaid, Themiſtocles confeſſed, 'this was the happieſt day 'he had ever known, and that he then reaped the 'full reward of his labours.'

IT is however the unhappy condition of human nature, that ſome ſhameful ſtain often appears amidſt the purity of the brighteſt virtues. Thus it was with Themiſtocles. Wiſe as he was in council, and brave in war, he ſcrupled not, as we have ſaid already, any means of acquiring wealth; and in this view, he deſired the command

BOOK V. mand of ſome ſhips, under pretence of chaſtiſing the iſlands that had leagued with the Perſians.

Sect. 2. Hiſtorians generally agree, that he obtained little honour in this expedition: they tell us, that none felt the power of his arms, but thoſe who had not money to purchaſe the favour of the rapacious general. But let us turn from the ungrateful topic: it is mortifying to obſerve ſuch blemiſhes in a character like his. And when it is conſidered, what a perſon he was, graced with ſuch a number of excellent qualities, of a courage ſo ſteady and active in the moſt trying perils, of a love ſo unalterable to his country, and which is the moſt difficult attainment of all, of that uncommon greatneſs of ſoul which enabled him to bear with calmneſs all the indignities the pride of Sparta threw out on him, it muſt ſurely move our wonder, how this *meanneſs* could find a place in a mind ſo nobly conſtructed.

THE retreat of the Perſians gave an opportunity to thoſe of Athens to return to their ravaged city, and take up their reſidence in its ruins. In the mean time Mardonius was in Theſſaly, preparing for the operations of war, as ſoon as the ſeaſon ſhould permit them. Nevertheleſs he dreaded the Athenians greatly; and if he could only conclude a peace with that brave people, he promiſed himſelf an eaſy conqueſt of the reſt of Greece. He therefore determined to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to Athens; for which purpoſe he made choice of Alexander king of Macedon, who, though in amity with the Perſians, 'was of Grecian extraction, and entitled to the rights of hoſpitality in the ſtate of Athens. Of this meaſure the Spartans having received early notice, diſpatched embaſſadors with all ſpeed to oppoſe the intrigues of the Macedonian. The Athenians on their part, that

all

all ſuſpicion of unfair proceedings might be pre- BOOK
cluded, appointed that the embaſſadors both of V.
Perſia and of Sparta ſhould have their public Sect. 2.
audience at the ſame time.

ALEXANDER ſpoke firſt. He told the people, 'that his ſingular regard to them had moved him 'to accept this commiſſion: that Xerxes had ſent 'to tender them peace; and that, after all the 'grievous wrongs he had received from them, 'this mighty monarch was willing to become their 'benefactor and friend: that Mardonius had 'directions to reſtore to them whatever the waſte 'of war had deſpoiled them of, and beſides to 'offer them any other country they ſhould deſire: 'that thoſe rights and liberties, which they held 'ſo dear, ſhould alſo remain to them; they 'ſhould be governed by the ſame laws, and enjoy 'the ſame worſhip: that indeed they had bravely 'oppoſed the Perſian arms; but was it poſſible 'they ſhould always oppoſe them? the forces 'of Xerxes were paſt numbering, and his trea-'ſures inexhauſtible: if they continued the war, 'they muſt periſh in the end; if they made 'alliance with the Great King, they ſhould 'aſſuredly be happy.' The anxious Spartans then took up the diſcourſe. 'The Athenians,' they obſerved, 'from the earlieſt date of time had 'been the aſſertors of liberty, men who eſteemed 'it their glory to fight the battles of oppreſſed 'nations: nothing therefore could be more in-'conſiſtent or diſhonourable, than that they ſhould 'now conſent to take on themſelves the yoke of 'ſlavery: that it was *their* quarrel, which had 'firſt brought this war on Greece: with the 'deepeſt concern the Spartans beheld the devaſta-'tion of Attica, and the overthrow of ſo illuſtrious 'a city; but that in compenſation, during whatever

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

'length of time the war ſhould laſt, it ſhould be the 'peculiar care of Sparta to provide for the ſuſten-'ance of all the Athenians that were not able to 'bear arms: that the magnificent promiſes of the 'Perſian were falſe enſnaring promiſes, their 'utter deſtruction being the object he really 'fought under the fair ſemblance of amity and 'peace.'

WHEN the embaſſadors had made an end of ſpeaking, Ariſtides anſwered in the name of the commonwealth. To Alexander he ſaid, 'that it was but a mean proof of his affection to 'the Athenian people, to endeavour to betray 'them into infamy and bondage: that the 'Athenians were not ſtrangers to the power of 'Xerxes, and the multitude of his forces:—but 'go,' added he, 'and tell Mardonius, that the 'dangers of war move us not; and as long as the 'ſun ſhall continue his courſe, never ſhall the 'Athenians have peace with Perſia; never ſhall 'they forget their deſolated country, and the 'temples of their gods conſumed to aſhes.—As 'for you, ye men of Lacedemon, how could ye 'imagine that there was occaſion for a bribe to 'urge us to the defence of liberty; or that the 'large offers of *the barbarian* could tempt us to a 'ſervile peace? Know, that neither the faireſt 'poſſeſſions Xerxes can beſtow, nor all the 'treaſures the compaſs of the earth contains, 'ſhall ever induce us to renounce the glorious 'cauſe in which we are engaged. Remember 'only, that war is determined againſt us; and 'that Attica muſt once more become a prey to 'thoſe ravagers, if our armies advance not into 'Bœotia to prevent them. Haſten therefore, and 'march to our aſſiſtance: the common proſperity 'of Greece calls upon you.' Ariſtides then preferred

ferred a decree, that the prieſts ſhould have orders to pronounce tremendous execrations againſt any, who ſhould adviſe to make alliance with the Medes, or to deſert the cauſe of Greece. BOOK V. Sect. 2.

THESE hardy reſolutions, no doubt, muſt have occaſioned to Mardonius many ill-boding thoughts: but he had undertaken the charge of the war, and he was obliged to abide the iſſue of it. Accordingly, about the beginning of ſpring, he gave orders that the Perſian forces ſhould move on towards Athens. The Spartans mean while, regardleſs of the fate of Attica, were employed in finiſhing the wall at the Iſthmus, and in fortifying it with battlements. So that the Athenians, finding themſelves thus unworthily forſaken, and incapable of themſelves to make reſiſtance, abandoned their country, and retired again to Salamis. When Mardonius had entered the Attic borders, and diſcerned the condition of the Athenians, that they had neither army to oppoſe him, nor friends to depend on, he deemed it a good opportunity by a ſecond embaſſy to ſolicit them to peace. But theſe generous men knew not how to ſell their liberty for a price. One perſon only was there found, who ventured to propoſe in ſenate, that they ſhould have reſpect to the diſtreſſes of their country, and put an end to this ruinous war. Immediately all the ſenators expreſſed their indignation at the infamous counſel, by ſtoning the author of it to death. The cauſe of the tumult being alſo divulged abroad, the Athenian women crouded to his houſe, and executed the like vengeance on his wife and children. Hitherto Mardonius had held his hand from devaſtation; but now convinced, that neither peril nor promiſe could influence the Athenians to accept of peace, he raſed or burnt whatever remained of the walls, the

Bef. Chriſt 479.

BOOK V. Sect. 2. the houſes, and temples, and made the whole city a ſmoaking ruin. After this noble feat, he marched off towards Bœotia, not daring to wait an engagement in thoſe mountainous rugged parts, where his horſe could ſcarcely be of ſervice.

ALL this time no Spartan army was to be ſeen on its march for the defence of Attica. There is even reaſon to believe, that this people beheld without much concern the deſtruction of their rival city. Embaſſadors from Athens failed not to make repreſentations at Sparta; but theſe were deluded with various promiſes until the fortifications at the Iſthmus were completed, and probably would have been diſmiſſed without any regard to their demands, had not the other Peloponneſians openly declared againſt ſo ſhameful a treachery. Particularly the Tegeans, though in ſtrict connection with thoſe of Sparta, reproached them ſharply for their ingratitude to that brave people. They obſerved, that 'if not a ſenſe of honour, yet ſelf-'preſervation ſhould induce them to exert them-'ſelves: that it was to no purpoſe to hope ſecurity, 'if once the Athenians ceaſed to oppoſe the 'Perſian power; and that they ſoon would find 'how weak a defence their boaſted walls afforded 'them, when their ports were univerſally open to 'the enemy.' Theſe remonſtrances had their effect: the Spartans ſent off privately by night forty thouſand men; and the enſuing day, when the embaſſadors according to cuſtom urged their ſuit, the Ephori told them with a ſmile, that their army was already on its march againſt the Perſians.

AT the head of theſe troops was Pauſanias: he was the ſon of Cleombrotus, and was conſtituted general in the room of Pliſtarchus, ſon to Leonidas, who was not yet of age. Leotychides, the other

other king, had been ſent with Xanthippus the Athenian to command the Grecian fleet, which now lay at Delos. Ariſtides joined Pauſanias with eight thouſand men; and the other Grecians arriving daily, the army was found to conſiſt of a hundred thouſand men and upwards. The forces of Mardonius trebled that number: nevertheleſs the Grecians marched after him into Bœotia, and encamped at the foot of mount Cithæron. Whilſt they lay here, an occaſion offered, in which the Athenians acquired ſignal honour. A detached party of horſe of the Aſiatics had inſulted the Megarean quarters. The Megareans, finding themſelves much galled, and fearing they ſhould be overpowered by the weight of numbers, ſent to Pauſanias to aſk a reinforcement, a ſervice in which the reſt of the allies appeared not very willing to engage, when three hundred Athenians generouſly marched forth, and both repulſed the enemy, and ſlew Maſiſtius the leader of the detachment, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed character, highly in eſteem both with Xerxes and the army. The Perſians mourned for him with great lamentations.

THIS exploit performed, the Grecians moved off from Cithæron towards Platææ, to a more convenient ſituation, and took their ſtation on one ſide of the Aſopus, the enemy extending themſelves along the other. It appears, that the generals of both armies apprehended danger in paſſing this river; and therefore, agreeably to the humour of thoſe times when religion was made ſubſervient to political purpoſes, the diviners had declared, that victory was promiſed to thoſe who ſhould forbear to attack the enemy. Impreſſed with this belief, the two armies obſerved each other ſeveral days; and though ſkirmiſhes were frequent,

BOOK V. Sect. 2. frequent, no general engagement followed. In this interval of time, dark treaſon was brooding in the camp of the allies. Certain Athenians of the beſt and nobleſt families, who had waſted their fortunes in the war, and ſaw themſelves fallen from that pre-eminence to which they might juſtly have pretended when Athens had her days of peace, conſpired to overturn the commonwealth, or if that could not be effected, to betray all into the hands of the Perſians. The black deſign was diſcovered to Ariſtides; when this excellent pariot, apprehending the conſequences of proceeding with ſtrictneſs at this perilous juncture, choſe to let the whole guilt fall on eight perſons, and of thoſe to condemn two only; and even they were by connivance ſuffered to eſcape. To the reſt, againſt whom ſuſpicious were entertained, he ſaid, 'that the enſuing battle was the tribunal where 'they were to juſtify themſelves, and give evidence, 'that they had never engaged in any counſels but 'what were uſeful to their country.' By this prudent act of diſſimulation the dangerous conſpiracy was entirely diſſipated.

THE two armies had now remained within ſight of each other eleven days, when Mardonius, who ſaw himſelf threatened with ſcarcity of proviſions, reſolved to paſs the Aſopus on the morrow, and give battle to the Grecians. Pauſanias had advice of this, and of the diſpoſition of the enemy: he took a reſolution therefore of altering the arrangement of his army, by placing the Athenians, of whoſe bravery and experience he had the higheſt opinion, in that part where it was likely the battle would preſs moſt. Accordingly he made them a compliment of the poſt of honour, the right wing, which had been always aſſigned to the Spartans, becauſe the oppoſite left wing was to conſiſt

conſiſt of the Perſians, eſteemed the braveſt among the barbarians, and with whoſe manner of fighting the Athenians were beſt acquainted. But Mardonius, having learned by report this alteration, ſent a meſſenger to reproach the Spartans with deſerting their poſt, and at the ſame time changed likewiſe his order of battle. Theſe various evolutions prevented the oppoſite armies from coming to an engagement on that day.

THE following night the confederate chiefs, who had for ſome time been ſtraitened both for water and proviſions in their preſent poſt, as the Perſian horſe continually infeſted all the paſſes around them, agreed to move off immediately to other ground, diſtant about ten ſtades (between two and three miles) from the Aſopus. The Spartans and Athenians marched in two columns, the former along the hills, to avoid the enemies cavalry, the Athenians by the way of the plain: the reſt of the army obſerved not any order, the greater part of them preſſing on with the utmoſt precipitancy towards Platææ. When day appeared, and Mardonius had intelligence that the Grecian camp was forſaken, he concluded the Greeks were fled, and commanded his forces to purſue them vigorouſly. His orders were readily obeyed; they ruſhed after the ſuppoſed fugitives, as to certain victory, with mighty ſhouts and an horrible barbarous noiſe, and ſoon came up with the Lacedemonians, theſe having been delayed by the obſtinate behaviour of one of their commanders, who at firſt refuſed to obſerve the orders of Pauſanias, as bringing on Spartans the diſhonourable imputation of fleeing before the enemy. The Lacedemonians had only the Tegeans with them. In this diſtreſs, Pauſanias ſent off a meſſenger to the Athenians, to deſire they would haſten to his aſſiſtance:

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

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BOOK V. Sect. 2.

assistance: but they had already joined battle with the Greeks in Mardonius' army, of whom the Bœotians especially charged the Athenians with excessive fury, so that Aristides was engaged in a sharp and doubtful conflict. However Pausanias received the barbarians in good order, by the help of which he obtained infinite advantage over them, their tumultuous numbers availing little against the cool and regular defence of the Lacedemonian line. The battle however continued to rage, until Mardonius fell. As soon as he was slain, and the chosen men about him had fallen, the whole army disbanded and fled towards their camp. And here began a fierce combat; for the Asiatics had encompassed themselves with fortifications of wood, through which the Lacedemonians, ill experienced in the art of sieges, in vain attempted to force their passage, when the Athenians arrived, after defeating their part of the enemy, and attacked the works with such spirit, that in a short time the camp was stormed, and a prodigious slaughter ensued. Of this great multitude none escaped the sword, excepting forty thousand that made good their retreat with Artabazus at the beginning of the confusion, and about three thousand taken prisoners. What is not less surprising, on the Grecian side there fell only thirteen hundred and sixty. Amongst these was the Aristodemus we mentioned already: he had determined to wipe off the blemish of the day of Thermopylæ, and rushing in among the thickest of the enemy, fell at last, amidst heaps of barbarians slain by his hand. The judgment given by Sparta on this occasion deserves notice. They refused to Aristodemus the honours they paid to the memory of the rest of their countrymen who had distinguished themselves, because he sought

to

to die, deſpair was his motive. Of another Spartan alſo honourable mention is made: his name Callicratides. He was mortally wounded with an arrow before the engagement began, and as they were bearing him off, 'Hard fate,' ſaid he, turning him about to one of his fellow ſoldiers, 'not 'that I die for Greece, but that I die before I 'have performed any thing worthy of myſelf and 'of my zeal for my country!

ARTABAZUS, to whoſe conduct it was owing that any relicks of this mighty hoſt were preſerved, was a noble Perſian, an upright, ſenſible, brave man, who had earneſtly endeavoured to diſſuade Mardonius from hazarding a deciſive engagement. 'There was,' he told him, 'a much 'ſurer way of ſubduing the Grecians than by 'force of arms, by corrupting their chief leaders, 'and dividing them one againſt the other.' Happily for Greece, the pride of Mardonius would not ſuffer him to ſtoop to theſe arts of ſubtilty: the vain general promiſed himſelf, that all muſt yield to his ſuper-eminence of power, and that he could not fail of returning ſoon with glory and conqueſt to Aſia. Artabazus judged with what ſucceſs theſe hopes would be attended, and had formed the reſolution to ſave from deſtruction as much of the army as he could. Nevertheleſs, on the day of battle no man fought better, as long as the fate of it was doubtful; but as ſoon as he ſaw the ſcale turn, and Mardonius fall, he fled with forty thouſand men, and reached the Helleſpont with ſo much diligence as to outſtrip the news of the Grecian victory.

AND yet, what would ſcarcely be ſuppoſed poſſible, this very ſucceſs of the allied army had well nigh proved more fatal to Greece, than all the dreaded power of Xerxes. It was the cuſtom of theſe people, after a victory, to aſſign the prize

BOOK V. Sect. 2. of valour, with the right of erecting a trophy, to thoſe who had fought beſt. The Athenians claimed this honour, and the Spartans alſo claimed it. The jealouſy ſubſiſting between theſe two ſtates ſharpened the diſpute, which they were on the point of deciding by arms, when ſome of the confederate chiefs propoſed, that both parties ſhould wave their pretenſions in favour of the Platæans, that intrepid people, whoſe power was of too little moment to excite envy, and who had deſerved ſo well from their country. To this happy expedient all aſſenting, fourſcore talents, out of the immenſe booty taken, were ſet apart for the Platæans to rebuild their city and the temples of their gods. Ariſtides added, 'that they ſhould erect 'an altar to Jupiter the deliverer; that a ſolemn 'feſtival and games ſacred to liberty ſhould be celebrated every fifth year at Platææ; that a general levy ſhould be made throughout Greece to 'carry on the war againſt the barbarians; and 'that the Platæans ſhould be exempt from all military ſervice, to the end that they might devote 'their whole time to the oblation of prayers and 'ſacrifices for the ſafety and weal of Greece.'

BESIDES this monument of the piety and love of liberty of the Grecian people, an annual ſolemnity was at the ſame time inſtituted in memory of thoſe who were ſlain, the obſervation of which the Platæans took upon themſelves. On the yearly return of this memorable day for Greece, the whole people of Platææ marched in proceſſion to the tombs of the brave men that died there for their country. The proceſſion began at the firſt dawn of day, and was opened by a trumpet ſounding as to battle. Then appeared ſeveral chariots, filled with garlands and myrtle branches. Next, a black bull, deſtined for the ſacrifice. After this, a number of young men, *freeborn*, bearing the uſual libations; for

for no *ſlave* was permitted to aſſiſt at a ſolemnity inſtituted to do honour to the martyrs of liberty. Laſt of all marched the chief magiſtrate of Platææ, cloathed with a purple robe, and girt with a ſword, which on that day alone he was permitted to wear. To him it belonged to perform the ſacred rites: he was to waſh the pillars that ſupported the monuments, and to rub them with ſweet ointments: he was then to kill the victim, and having made his ſupplications to the gods, in concluſion it was his duty to pour forth a libation of wine to thoſe vindicators of their country, with theſe words, 'I offer this bowl to thoſe valiant 'men who gave their lives for the liberty of 'Greece.' Plutarch tells us, that even to his time this remarkable ſolemnity was retained. The Athenian people likewiſe ordered, that panegyrics ſhould be pronounced every year in honour of the ſame patriots, by orators ſpecially appointed for the occaſion.

THE next concern of the Grecians was to puniſh thoſe traitors to the cauſe of liberty, who had taken part with the Perſians. Bœotia, of which Thebes was the chief city, had, as we have ſaid, been extremely active, as well as early, in the defection. Immediately then after the victory at Platææ, Pauſanias marched his army to Thebes, and laid ſiege to it. The Thebans ſoon capitulated, and delivered up the heads of the Perſian faction to Pauſanias, who put them to death. The Grecians had the wiſdom to content themſelves with this. A ſeverer enquiry againſt all the guilty might have proved the means of involving Greece in a dangerous domeſtic war, and of confirming in foreign engagements thoſe ſtates, which were now rather to be brought back to the intereſts and defence of their common country.

BOOK V. SECT. 2.

THE day on which the battle of Platææ was fought was rendered further memorable by a ſecond victory obtained by the Greeks at Mycale in Ionia. Their fleet, as we have ſaid, lay at Delos, under the command of Leotychides and Xanthippus. Whilſt they were there, deputies arrived from Samos, beſeeching them to free the Aſiatic Greeks from the yoke of Perſia, and engaging to revolt, as ſoon as their fleet ſhould appear on the Ionian coaſt. Induced by theſe promiſes, the admirals bore away for Aſia. Xerxes had left there an army of ſixty thouſand men, under the command of Tigranes; and there was beſides a powerful fleet, cruiſing between the iſland Samos and the promontory Mycale. But the Perſians knew too well how dreadful the Greeks were in naval combat, to wait their approach: ſoon as they were appriſed of their purpoſe, they drew all their ſhips to ſhore under the protection of the land-forces, and ſurrounded them with ſtrong paliſadoes and deep entrenchments. When the allies found this, they determined to make to the continent, and attack the enemy. This was an hazardous attempt. A numerous army lined the coaſt; and though Leotychides had the precaution to ſend heralds along the ſhore, to addreſs the Ionians in the Grecian language, and to invite them to aſſiſt the confederates, yet was it to be feared their faith would follow the fate of the battle. Nevertheleſs, in contempt of all danger, they prepared to land; and for ſome time the Perſians made gallant oppoſition: but at length borne down by the vigor of this intrepid enemy, they were forced to give way, and were followed by the Greeks into their very entrenchments. The ſequel may be eaſily conceived. None eſcaped the ſword, but ſuch as conſulted their ſafety by flight; and of theſe alſo great numbers fell by the hands

hands of the Ionians, who roſe on them every where as they fled. The Perſian camp and fleet were taken, ſet on fire by the Greeks, and deſtroyed entirely. When news of theſe diſaſters reached Xerxes, he retired precipitately from Sardis, where he had remained to this time, and removed to Ecbatane in Media. BOOK V. Sect. 2.

THE reader will pauſe with us for a moment to obſerve, how ſudden are the revolutions of the greateſt empires, and to reflect on the cauſe of that wonderous change we have now in our view. Eighteen months before, did Xerxes march into Greece with all the kings of Aſia in his train, and upwards of two millions of men in arms. Two little ſtates only were there to oppoſe him. And yet, ſuch is the ſuperior ſtrength of wiſdom and virtue againſt pride, raſhneſs, and effeminacy—this mighty man is worſted in every place, at Thermopylæ, at Artemiſium, at Salamis, at Platææ, at Mycale. His evil genius purſues him inceſſantly; and all the fruit he reaps from this pompous expedition is the mortification of having given glory, and wealth, and greatneſs to the people for whom he had prepared deſtruction. As for the Grecians, they were at this point of time, we might venture to ſay, the greateſt people that ever exiſted. Not only they were brave—they were humane, generous, compaſſionate: it was not a brutal courage that led them on; and thoſe very Athenians, who ſaved Greece at Salamis, might have been ſeen, ſome few days before, indulging all the ſoft tenderneſſes of domeſtic life, and melting amidſt the embraces of their parents, their wives, their children. It was this very excellence of mind, it was this force of virtuous ſentiments, that gave them ſtrength for battle: they were contending for a country made dear to them by all the tendereſt habitudes and moſt intereſting connections;

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

nections; they were vindicating the honour, the liberty, the life of all they loved, againſt the cruelty and ſavage luſt of outrageous barbarians. It was a glorious cauſe, and juſt heaven proſpered it accordingly!

THE two illuſtrious actions of Platææ and Mycale happened, as we have mentioned, on the ſame day, the firſt in the morning, the latter in the afternoon: yet hiſtorians agree, that the Grecians at Mycale, before they went to battle, received from Leotychides the important intelligence of their countrymen's ſucceſs at Platææ, diſtant from them not leſs than two hundred miles. But this was undoubtedly no other than the artifice of the Spartan king, who obſerving his ſoldiers poſſeſſed with anxious apprehenſions for the fate of the land army, contrived to rouſe them from their dejection by cauſing theſe joyous tidings to be ſpread among them. When the report was confirmed, it is not ſtrange that its ſwift propagation ſhould be eſteemed miraculous.

THE Greeks, after their ſucceſs at Mycale, propoſed to ſail immediately to the ſtreights of the Helleſpont, in order to demoliſh what had remained of the bridge Xerxes had built there: but finding that, either by force of weather, or the plundering of the neighbouring people, even the ruins of it had been ſwept away, the Lacedemonians and the reſt of the Peloponneſians returned home. The Athenians had other views: they paſſed over to the Cherſoneſus, and laid ſiege to Seſtos. Seſtos was the principal city of the Cherſoneſus, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and defended by a numerous garriſon under the command of Artayctes, a Perſian. This man had made an infamous uſe of his power: his manners were diſſolute, and his government cruel and oppreſſive. The Grecians eſpecially he had treated with great barbarity; and

now

now fearing the puniſhment he was conſcious of meriting, he determined to defend himſelf to the utmoſt extremity. At length, when it was found impoſſible to ſave the city, the governor and his garriſon fled out of it. But the time of vengeance was come. Moſt of the garriſon were intercepted by the Thracians, who ſacrificed the officers to their gods, and put the reſt to the ſword. Artayctes and his ſon fell into the hands of ſome Athenian horſemen, by whom they were carried back to Xanthippus at Seſtos, and there, notwithſtanding the large offers he made to obtain his life, the Perſian expiated his cruelties by a cruel death, being impaled alive by the command of Xanthippus, while his ſon was ſtoned before his eyes.*

THIS done, the Athenians, laden with immenſe treaſure, returned in triumph to Greece.

* Here Herodotus ends his hiſtory of the Grecian affairs.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

SECTION I.

CULTURE and peace now ſucceeded to the horrors which had deſolated Greece. The city of Athens particularly began to riſe from its ruins in far greater ſplendor, than it had ever known before its deſtruction. The Athenians found themſelves enriched with the Perſian ſpoils, and determined to omit nothing which might conduce to the ſtrength and beauty of their new city. It was the advice of Themiſtocles, who paſſionate for the glory of his country, perſuaded the people to take in a wider circuit of ground, and to raiſe walls of ſtrength ſufficient to ſecure them againſt future invaders. The Spartans had always beheld the proſperity of Athens with an eye of jealouſy and diſlike: it is eaſy therefore to judge, how much this her encreaſe of power affected them. 'To what might not this rival city aſpire, if en-'larged and fortified, which even in ruins was 'able

Bef. Chriſt 478.

BOOK VI. Sect. 1.

'able to exhibit ſuch wonders of activity?' Embaſſadors were ſent immediately to put a ſtop to the daring attempt, with pretences the moſt plauſible and inſinuating: they were to urge the concern that Sparta felt for the common proſperity; to ſtate the danger which threatened the Athenians themſelves, ſhould the Perſians ever become poſſeſſed of a place of ſtrength in the midſt of Attica. Little regard being paid to theſe *friendly* remonſtrances, they threw off the maſk at length, and in the tone of maſters peremptorily forbad this ſpirited people, who had ſo nobly adventured all in the cauſe of liberty, to carry on their walls, under pain of the diſpleaſure of Sparta.

THEMISTOCLES was a wiſe ſtateſman: he prevailed on his countrymen to ſmother their reſentment, and to anſwer the arrogant embaſſy with gentleneſs. They replied, 'that perſons ſhould 'be deputed to Sparta, to remove whatever um-'brage they might have taken at the conduct of 'the Athenian people.' This hazardous commiſſion Themiſtocles offered to execute; and accordingly being ſent in conjunction with two others, in a few days he arrived at Sparta: but he had artfully left his collegues on the road; ſo that, when called to ſpeak, he declined it, on pretence of waiting the arrival of the other embaſſadors. In the mean time, the Athenians wrought inceſſantly to complete their walls, excuſing neither years nor ſtation from the important ſervice. The Spartans had notice of their proceedings, and complained to Themiſtocles, who with an air of ſincerity denied the charge, deſiring, if they had any ſuſpicions, that truſty perſons ſhould be ſent directly, to inſpect the walls, and make report. Underhand he had given directions, that the Spartan commiſſioners ſhould be detained till proper notice.

notice. And now, being assured that the walls were in a condition of defence, and his collegues being come, he demanded an audience, at which he delivered his orders with a noble firmness. 'It was true,' he told them, 'Athens was now 'a walled city, of ability to bid defiance to her 'enemies. He himself had been the adviser of 'this measure, and he gloried in it, as the means 'of advancing the prosperity of his country. It 'was unworty of Sparta to envy the aggrandise-'ment of a state, to which Greece owed her 'liberties. If they attempted, in his person and 'that of his collegues, to violate the sacred 'character of embassadors, their own ministers 'then at Athens must answer for the perfidy.' Whether through fear or shame, the Spartans dissembled, and Themistocles with his collegues was dismissed without injury.

THE security of Athens was provided for by land: the next care of Themistocles was to defend her against naval invasion. For this purpose he applied himself to the completing of the Piræus, that famed port, which from his exertions acquired every requisite either for conveniency or safety. Its triple bason was cleared to a capacity of receiving numerous fleets. On shore were places accommodated for all the various arts, which a maritime power renders necessary. The dock and arsenal were surrounded with walls forty cubits in height, and so wide, that two chariots might drive on them abreast; the walls built of square stones, bound together by bars of iron and molten lead. It is said, that the Spartans would have opposed this magnificent undertaking, but that, through the artifice of Themistocles, they were again deceived.

BOOK VI. Sect. 1.

IT was about this time, whilſt the Piræan harbour was receiving its improvements, that Themiſtocles deviſed a project, which, if it did no honour to his uprightneſs, argued at leaſt a deep political ſubtilty. In an oration to the people he intimated, 'that he had a *deſign*, to which if 'they would conſent, he would be anſwerable 'for the execution; but that it was not of a 'nature to be communicated to a public aſſembly.' He was ordered to confer with Ariſtides, whoſe report was, 'that nothing indeed could be 'more advantageous to the commonwealth than 'the propoſal of Themiſtocles, but that at the 'ſame time it was extremely unjuſt:' on which the whole aſſembly without farther debate unanimouſly rejected the ſcheme, and commanded Themiſtocles to think no more of it. He had purpoſed to burn the Peloponneſian fleets then at Gythium, by which ſtroke the maritime power of Greece muſt have remained indiſputably in the hands of the Athenians. The reader will obſerve, this was not the vote of a choſen number of grave ſenators; it was the vote of a mixed multitude, of ſeveral thouſands of perſons of all conditions; and yet with one voice was the glorious reſolution paſſed. The annals of mankind can ſcarcely furniſh a ſimilar inſtance of a whole people, refuſing to purchaſe empire itſelf at the expence of virtue.

IN the excellence of character manifeſted by the Athenians at this juncture may not improbably be found the motive, that induced Ariſtides to propoſe a law directly contradictory to his former principles of government. He had always ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the power of the people. Nevertheleſs, ſhortly after the return to Attica, he preferred and carried a decree, 'that the admiſſion to magiſtracy 'ſhould

'ſhould be open to all Athenians of what condition 'ſoever.' The illuſtrious patriot may have thought, too much confidence could not be placed in thoſe citizens, who though poor in the advantages of fortune, had ſhewn ſuch a noble example of diſintereſtedneſs. Hiſtorians obſerve further, that the people, ſuch was their moderation in that golden age of their virtue, made not any uſe of the new privileges conceded to them: content with the right of pretending to the firſt dignities, they modeſtly confined themſelves to the lower offices of the ſtate, leaving the more important places to be filled by thoſe of eminent birth.

ALTHOUGH it does not appear that the Spartans knew any thing of the advice Themiſtocles had offered with reſpect to the ſhips at Gythium, other reaſons were not wanting to urge them on to the ruin of this great man. Beſides his behaviour during the embaſſy to Sparta, he had done them another injury which their pride could not forgive. After the battle at Platææ, in a general aſſembly of the Grecian ſtates they had moved, 'that as 'many of the Amphictyones as had confederated 'with Perſia ſhould be diveſted of their privileges.' A ſpecious propoſal! but there were deep deſigns concealed under it. Some of the moſt conſiderable of the Amphictyonic nations had unhappily entangled themſelves in the Perſian league, ſo that in fact no ſtate of any figure was out of the reach of this condemnation, Sparta and Athens excepted; the other members, of which this great council was to be compoſed, if ſuch a reſolution took effect, were petty cantons, for the moſt part under Spartan influence. This conſequence did not eſcape the penetration of Themiſtocles, by whoſe interpoſition the project miſcarried. On theſe accounts had the Lacedemonians

BOOK VI. nians marked him out for deſtruction: we ſhall ſee anon how fatally they ſucceeded.

Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 477. HITHERTO the Grecians had been employed in repairing the waſte which the barbarians had made: they now reſumed the thoughts of war, by ſending off the combined fleet to the Aſiatic coaſt, to aſſure the liberties and independency of the Grecian cities in thoſe parts. Pauſanias the Spartan had the ſupreme command: Ariſtides and Cimon were the Athenian admirals. They began their operations by ſetting free ſeveral of the cities of Cyprus, which the Perſian held; thence ſailing to Byzantium, a place ſtrong and well garriſoned, they reduced it, making a conſiderable number of priſoners. Promiſing as theſe beginnings were, here was the end of Pauſanias' glory. Bef. Chriſt 476. Proſperity had undone him; he was become vain and inſolent; he had even conceived the deſign of betraying Greece to the Perſians, in which view he had, by means of ſome priſoners taken at Byzantium, entered into a negotiation with Xerxes, who ſtipulated to beſtow his daughter on him in marriage, and to advance him to the higheſt dignities.

THAT the victor of Platææ ſhould be induced to act the part of a traitor to his country, is indeed a melancholy proof of the frailty of human virtue: but the cauſe of this perverſion muſt be ſought for in the rich plunder, of which that very victory made him poſſeſſor. Till that time, plainneſs of manners and integrity of heart was the character of Pauſanias. But after the day of Platææ, when he found himſelf advanced in wealth as well as glory, and numbered among the firſt men of Greece, he began to entertain aſpiring thoughts, and to hate the ſimplicity and humiliation of the Spartan life. The new honours with which

which he was adorned, together with the ſucceſs that followed his arms in the preſent expedition, contributed not a little to haſten the ruin of this ambitious man. The officers of the allies ſoon perceived, that his deportment was no longer what it had been; that he affected much pomp and luxurious magnificence; and carried himſelf towards all that approached him with intolerable haughtineſs. And though his treaſonable practices were little more than ſuſpected, yet did this contumelious demeanour ſettle them in a purpoſe of renouncing all obedience to Sparta. They applied to Ariſtides, whom they preſſed to accept of the command of the confederate fleet: but that wiſe Athenian refuſing to hazard the honour of his country until by ſome overt act they had put their ſincerity out of queſtion, ſome of the confederates ran foul of Pauſanias' galley, and when he threatened to chaſtiſe them, made anſwer, 'that his moſt prudent method was to retire; and 'that he might thank fortune for her favours at 'Platæa, the remembrance of which alone re-'ſtrained them from ſhewing a quicker ſenſe of 'the ill treatment they had received at his 'hands.'

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 475.

In this manner was the ſuperintendency of Greece transferred to the Athenian people. And as it was pride and arrogance that threw Sparta out of the ſeat of power, ſo, ſay hiſtorians, was it the juſtice of Ariſtides, and the candour and affability of Cimon, that endeared the Athenian government to all the confederates. Indeed the aſſociated Greeks gave a ſtill more convincing proof of their high eſteem for the abilities and juſt adminiſtration of Ariſtides, when they conſtituted him, preſently after, their ſole commiſſioner, with full powers to tax every one of their ſtates in what

Bef. Chriſt 474.

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. what proportion of ſhips and money he ſhould judge proper, for carrying on the war againſt the Perſians. This delicate truſt he adminiſtred with that ſtrict fidelity, that in all the cities and iſlands, through which he paſſed in order to ſurvey and value, he was received with acclamations, and at his departure purſued with bleſſings; and a tax, the firſt of the kind ever known in Greece, was collected with the greateſt eaſe, and paid with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, ſo as to be diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by the remarkable title of *the happy lot of Greece.* The aſſeſſment fixed by Ariſtides was of four hundred and ſixty talents, and the money was to be depoſited at Delos. Fortunate Athens, had ſhe never forgotten thoſe gentler arts of uprightneſs and clemency, which alone are the ſecurity of governors, and render empire amiable!

THE temper of the Spartans was ill accommodated to bear with patience this diminution of honour. At firſt they talked of aſſerting their ſuperiority by force of arms, and probably would have declared war againſt the Athenians, had not Hetæmoridas one of their ſenators, a perſon in high repute for wiſdom and integrity, diſſuaded them from ſo ruinous an attempt, calling to their remembrance the laws of Lycurgus, which forbad all pretenſions to an empire, not to be ſupported without hazarding the virtue and ſober manners of the Lacedemonian people. Pauſanias however was brought to his trial for a behaviour ſo derogatory to the honour of his country: but he eſcaped puniſhment as yet, being acquitted for want of ſuch proof as the laws of Sparta required. His buſy ſpirit not ſuffering him to reſt, he returned to the ſea-coaſt, though without any authority from the ſtate, where he continued to carry on a correſpondence with Artabazus, governor of the maritime

maritime parts of Aſia Minor, who had orders from Xerxes to concert meaſures with him. But his intrigues being traverſed by the Athenian generals, and the Ephori commanding him home to anſwer to certain new articles of impeachment, he was obliged a ſecond time to leave Aſia. His trial nevertheleſs had a favourable iſſue; and notwithſtanding the many charges preferred againſt him, particularly one for having encouraged the Helotæ to revolt, he obtained his acquittal. The judges, it has been ſaid, were willing to ſoften the ſeverity of the laws in behalf of a perſon of royal blood, who was guardian to their king, and had formerly deſerved ſo well of Sparta. But as gratitude and lenity were not the characteriſtic virtues of Spartan judges, it ſeems more reaſonable to conjecture, that they acted from political motives with reſpect to Pauſanias, whom his connections and numerous dependants rendered formidable. He had engaged the ſlaves to aſſiſt him; and thoſe *ſons of deſpair*, headed by a man like him, might probably have ſhaken the Spartan ſtate: therefore was it judged expedient to deal mildly with him. It is certain that, about the very time when he was ſuffered to eſcape, ſeveral of the moſt warlike of the Helots were for ſome undivulged guilt cruelly put to death, even in the ſanctuary where they had taken refuge. However, the lenity ſhewn to Pauſanias did not inſpire him with better ſentiments. Steady to his wicked project, he contived means to tranſmit ſundry letters to Artabazus, and among the reſt, truſted his diſpatches to one Argilius, a creature of his own, and ſtrongly attached to him. An ill-boding ſuſpicion diſturbed the breaſt of this man, becauſe he had obſerved, that of all the couriers lately employed by Pauſanias not one had returned: to

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. ſatisfy his apprehenſions therefore, he opened the letters, in which he found a charge to Artabazus to put him to death, in like manner as he had ſecured the ſecrecy of the other meſſengers. Affrighted at this, and exaſperated againſt his maſter, he immediately diſcloſes the whole matter to the Ephori, who being tender of condemning a perſon of Pauſanias' conſequence except on the ſtrongeſt evidence, directed the witneſs to conceal his having applied to them, and to flee to a ſanctuary, on pretence of dreading the reſentment of Pauſanias. As they expected, ſo it happened. Argilius having taken ſanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Tænarus, Pauſanias directly took the alarm, and haſtened thither. His meſſenger confeſſed to him that he had opened the letters, and then breaking out into expoſtulations with him concerning the cruel orders of which he was to have been the victim, gave the Ephori, who were concealed in an inner room, the opportunity of hearing from Pauſanias' own mouth a full confeſſion of his treaſon. His ſentence of condemnation was now inevitable. But this unhappy prince, conſcious of guilt, and haunted with apprehenſions, prevented the laws by fleeing for protection to the temple of Minerva. It had been an inſult to religion to have forced him thence. Another expedient was therefore thought of. He was immured within the ſacred walls, and ſtarved to death, his own mother ſhewing her fellow citizens the example, and laying down the firſt ſtone at the temple gate. So much did the patriot-feeling at Sparta overpower even the ſtruggles of a mother's tenderneſs!

IN the ruin of Pauſanias domeſtic envy and the Spartan animoſity conſpired to involve Themiſtocles alſo, though impartial poſterity has acquitted

quitted him of the imputation. The fortunes of this great Athenian are so connected with the history of the times in which he lived, that no apology seems necessary for pursuing them in detail. BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

AFTER the allies had thrown off the Spartan yoke, Cimon, who now saw himself at the head of the Grecian confederacy, remained not inactive. He carried on the war in Thrace, where he reduced Eion, though garrisoned by a considerable body of Persians, and chastised certain of the bordering Thracians who had assisted the enemy. This siege is rendered memorable by the extraordinary behaviour of the governor, named Butes: he defended himself to the last extremity, when finding the place no longer tenable, he built up a pile, set it on fire, and consumed his treasures, his family, and himself, in the midst of it. It was well for the Greeks, there were not many *Butesses* in the service of Xerxes. By the fall of Eion the Athenians became masters of the important city of Amphipolis, of which Eion was the port and place of mart.

FROM Thrace Cimon passed over to the neighbouring island Scyros, on the Magnesian coast, whence he ejected the Dolopians, a people infamous for piracy, and in their room planted a colony of Athenians, in order to open the trade of the Egean sea. But what crowned these important services of Cimon was his fortunate discovery of the bones of Theseus. We have related in the history of that prince, who laid the foundation of the Athenian democracy, that he ended his days in this island. Cimon therefore, having found out the spot where his bones lay, attended them to Athens with extraordinary pomp, and shew of the highest reverence.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

The precious remains were depoſited in that city in a ſumptuous monument, games were inſtituted on the occaſion, and prizes propoſed both to the agoniſtic combatant, and to the poet who ſhould grace the ſolemnity by the fineſt dramatic performance. Several remarkable circumſtances concurred to adorn this poetical conteſt. Cimon, and the other generals with him, diſdained not to beſtow the wreath with their own hands; and theſe men, who by their exploits abroad had ſo nobly advanced the glory of their country, now ſhewed (what we have already ſaid was the particular praiſe of this illuſtrious people) that their delicacy of taſte in literature was not leſs than their bravery in the day of battle. The extraordinary merits alſo of the diſputants did ſingular honour to the feſtival. It was on this occaſion that Sophocles, afterwards the great ornament of the Athenian ſtage, produced his firſt drama, and carried off the prize from Æſchylus, who had long reigned without a rival. We are told, this change of fortune deeply affected the old poet: he immediately left Athens, and retiring to Sicily, ended his days there.

By theſe ſplendid entertainments, ſo well adapted to the genius of the Athenians, and conſecrated beſides to the memory of a prince they held ſo dear, Cimon was conſulting the intereſts of his ambition; he was eſtabliſhing himſelf in the hearts of his countrymen, of which Themiſtocles was daily loſing his hold. The temper of theſe two competitors for fame was very different. Cimon open, liberal, courteous, poſſeſſed an infinite advantage over a man whoſe vanity rendered him burdenſome even to his friends. Proud of his exploits, Themiſtocles made them his continual theme of diſcourſe, and

was

was inceſſantly claiming a reſpect, which he hardly could have miſſed of, but by claiming it. His ſelf-ſufficiency carried him even to the length of erecting a temple, near his own houſe, to Diana *the inſpirer of wiſe counſels*, in which he placed his ſtatue, as if he by the wiſdom of his counſels had ſaved his country. True, he had: but the proud Athenians could not bear to be upbraided with it. Cimon, who had always been a ſecret enemy of his (for by his family connections he was naturally engaged in the oppoſite party) ſaw this was the opportunity for removing his formidable competitor. The emiſſaries of Sparta likewiſe exerted their utmoſt induſtry to procure his deſtruction. Thus purſued, hated by the nobility, forſaken by the people, was Themiſtocles, after all his eminent ſervices, driven into baniſhment. Such is the worth and ſtability of popular favour! Plutarch mentions a ſenſible obſervation to this purpoſe, made by the father of Themiſtocles to his ſon, when he was firſt courting political honours. Pointing to ſome old galleys that lay on the ſhore, 'Take notice,' ſaid he, 'thus are 'miniſters, when no longer neceſſary, re-'warded by the forgetful multitude.' Hiſtorians remark, to the honour of Ariſtides, that though often much oppoſed and injured by Themiſtocles, attached alſo by ſtrong ties to Cimon, of whom he had long been the protector and the friend, he nevertheleſs abſolutely refuſed to engage in this ungenerous proſecution.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2

Bef Chriſt 473.

FOR ſome time our illuſtrious exile enjoyed a peaceful retirement at Argos: but his enemies, the Spartans eſpecially, envied him even this. Pretending to have found in the papers of Pauſanias ſome intelligence of a correſpondence between theſe two great leaders, they required that Themiſtocles

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. miſtocles ſhould be forced from his place of refuge, to abide his trial before the tribunal of the Amphictyons. The truth was, Pauſanias, on learning the diſgrace of Themiſtocles, had partly opened his deſigns to him, adviſing him to revenge himſelf on his ungrateful country by ſoliciting the Perſians to war: but the noble Athenian rejected the propoſal, and would have diſſuaded Pauſanias from his baſe purpoſe. However the Spartans, whether they thirſted after the blood of this obnoxious man, or ſought to throw off from themſelves the reproach of Pauſanias' treaſons, earneſtly urged the charge. Themiſtocles therefore, not daring to truſt to the integrity of judges ſo prejudiced, made his eſcape out of Argolis; and through various hazards, fleeing from place to place, to Sicily, to Corcyra, to Epirus, to Macedonia, to Aſia Minor, expoſed to a multiplicity of diſtreſſes, and often obliged to owe his ſafety to mean diſguiſes, he at laſt reached the Perſian court.

ARTAXERXES reigned at this time. His father Xerxes, after his unfortunate expedition againſt Greece, had confounded the peace of his royal houſe by the blackeſt inceſts and murders, and had at length periſhed by domeſtic treachery. Artabanus, one of his principal officers, imbrued his hands in the blood of his maſter, and had even projected to ſecure the imperial dignity to himſelf by deſtroying the whole family of the Achæmenidæ. But Providence preſerved Artaxerxes, who was now ſeated on the throne of his fathers, when Themiſtocles came to Suſa. Some contrivance was neceſſary to obtain admittance into the king's preſence, which being effected, Themiſtocles thus diſcovered himſelf: 'I am,' ſaid he, 'Themiſtocles the Athenian, perſecuted

'and

'and baniſhed by the Greeks, and who, after all 'the miſchiefs I have wrought to Perſia, am fled 'to thee for refuge. My fate is in thy hands. 'But remember, if thou deſtroyeſt me, thou 'deſtroyeſt the enemy of Greece: in preſerving 'me, thou preſerveſt to thyſelf an able and faith-'ful ſervant.' Artaxerxes could not without aſtoniſhment behold before him, in the low condition of a ſuppliant, a perſonage whoſe very name had for a long time made all the nations of his empire tremble. He was ordered to return the next day, at which time, Artaxerxes before all his court received him with the higheſt marks of eſteem and honour. He preſented him to his queens and concubines; he gave him two hundred talents, the price that had been offered for his head by the Perſian court; and he beſtowed on him for a maintenance the revenue of three large and opulent cities. It is ſaid, the king was ſo tranſported with joy at this unlooked-for event, that on the night after the arrival of the illuſtrious Grecian, he was obſerved to ſtart frequently as he ſlept, and to exclaim, 'I have Themiſtocles the 'Athenian!' And he was on many occaſions afterwards heard to pray to his god Arimanius, that he would poſſeſs all his enemies with the like frenſy of perſecuting and baniſhing the braveſt men amongſt them.

THE remaining days of Themiſtocles were proſperous, as far as wealth and honours could render them ſuch: and except the mortifying reflection, that he was a dependant in a foreign land, which to a man of his exalted ſoul, who held liberty ſo precious, muſt have carried a ſting in his happieſt hours, he enjoyed every thing his fondeſt wiſhes could have in proſpect. He had the love and confidence of Artaxerxes; he was admitted

Bef. Chriſt 472.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

admitted even to his inmoſt thoughts; ſo that in after time, when the Satraps would invite a Grecian to Suſa, they promiſed him, that he ſhould live with the Great King as Themiſtocles the Athenian had lived with Artaxerxes. As to the manner of his death, it is related variouſly. Some pretend, that he put an end to his own life. But this account, ſo injurious to the memory of Themiſtocles, is generally rejected by judicious writers. It is more credible, that he died of extreme diſtreſs of mind, his heart ſtruggling between affection for his native country, and the gratitude he owed to his royal benefactor. For at this period of time the Athenians had made ſuch an impreſſion on ſeveral parts of the Perſian empire, that Artaxerxes, apprehenſive of the iſſue, had determined to raiſe extraordinary forces, and to ſend them, with Themiſtocles at their head, to oppoſe that formidable enemy. The hero of Salamis, injured as he was, could not bear the thought of appearing in battle againſt his countrymen: the anguiſh he ſuffered on the occaſion is ſuppoſed to have ſhortened his days. Pauſanias in his Antiquities of Greece tells us, that his bones were afterwards removed from the city of Magneſia, where he died, to the Piræus at Athens, and that the monument erected to him ſubſiſted to his time. Such was oftentimes the ſtrange gratitude of Athens, honouring thoſe when dead, whom living ſhe had unjuſtly perſecuted and oppreſſed.

Bef. Chriſt 466.

Bef. Chriſt 471.

We now return to the general affairs of Greece. Cimon, on whom, Themiſtocles being removed, and Ariſtides advanced in years, the whole weight of government reſted, ſought to ſupport his credit at home by the ſplendor of his exploits abroad. He ſailed from Athens with a fleet of more than two hundred ſhips of war, and entering the Aſiatic

Aſiatic ſeas, routed and diſperſed the Perſians wherever he met them, forced into their harbours, ſunk their ſhipping, and effectually ſecured the liberties and tranquillity of all the Grecian colonies in t oſe parts. Affrighted at the progreſs of the Athenian arms, the Perſian admirals retired to Pamphylia, to the mouth of the Eurymedon, where their fleet, three hundred and fifty ſtrong, was ſupported by a conſiderable land army encamped near the ſhore. Cimon nevertheleſs purſues them hither, and after a ſhort engagement, deſtroys this whole naval power, taking two hundred of their ſhips; and then, even before his men had wiped off the ſweat and blood of this action, commands them to make a deſcent, and attack the enemy on land. A daring attempt this, conſidering, theſe were freſh forces, were ſuperior in number, fought on firm ground, and had an opportunity of charging regularly; whereas the Grecians had already gone through the toils of one battle, and were in danger of ſuffering from the tumult and confuſion that naturally attend a debarkation. Soon however as the word was given, they leap on ſhore, and ſword in hand ruſh on the enemy. Never had the Perſians fought better than on this occaſion. They diſputed the ground inch by inch, they charged with vigour, they rallied frequently; but all in vain: the forces on land had the ſame fate with thoſe at ſea; they were broken and diſſipated, and after a prodigious ſlaughter, the camp, with all the immenſe treaſures contained in it, fell into the hands of the victorious Greeks. Thus in one day did Cimon obtain two victories, equalled by hiſtorians to thoſe of Platææ and Salamis. And as if nothing was to be wanting to complete his triumph, ſcarcely was this over, when he had the good fortune to inter-

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 470.

cept

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

cept eighty Phœnician veſſels, which were to have reinforced the Perſians. It is ſaid, that after this deadly blow, the barbarians had neither courage nor ſtrength left to them. And ſuch was the terror that had taken poſſeſſion of them, that the enſuing year, when they had a ſquadron of ſhips on the coaſt of Thrace, and their troops had overrun the Cherſoneſus, Cimon going thither with four gallies only, defeated them, took thirteen of their ſhips, obliged them to abandon the peninſula, and ſubjected the whole diſtrict to the Athenian commonwealth.

Bef. Chriſt 469.

IT may be eaſily conceived, that a very great encreaſe of power and opulence to Athens would be the reſult of ſo many victories. That at Eurymedon eſpecially gave much ſplendor to this illuſtrious city, moſt of the rich ſpoils taken from the Perſians being applied to the conſtructing of noble and uſeful works. Cimon likewiſe, out of his portion of the plunder, greatly contributed to the improvement of Athens. He adorned the city with fine walks and ſtately porticoes; he ſet the forum around with palm trees; he laid out places for horſe races and gymnaſtic exerciſe; and the academy alſo, ſo renowned in after ages on account of its philoſophic ſchool, he planted, and beautified with fountains. Such was the public ſpirit of this princely Athenian. In his earlier days, the wreck of his domeſtic fortune obliged him to retrench much of that bountifulneſs to which his natural temper inclined him; but now, bleſſed with abundant wealth, in this elegant manner did he ſhare it with his country. His whole plan of life was in the ſame ſtyle of magnificence: his gardens were all thrown open for the uſe of the people, his table ſpread every day for the reception of the poorer citizens; and whenever

whenever he met an Athenian whoſe garb or countenance ſpoke diſtreſs, he took care that ſome rich preſent ſhould be privately conveyed to him. Yet what is moſt admirable in all this, he ſought not popular favour; ſteady in his principles of government, he warmly ſupported the intereſts of the nobility: it was his heart that dictated to him this noble uſe of riches; the good man delighted in diffuſing joy and happineſs. BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

THE flow of wealth, of which the ſtate of Athens now became poſſeſſed, received a continued ſupply from a new political eſtabliſhment, the deviceof Cimon. According to theterms ſettled by Ariſtides, theconfederate ſtates were toſerve perſonally in the wars againſt the Perſians. But Cimon, perceiving that they performed this ſervice with reluctance, and deſirous to aggrandize his country, propoſed other meaſures. It was ſtipulated, that the confederates ſhould pay additional contributions in lieu of the forces they were to furniſh, and that the whole burden of military preparations and the buſineſs of war ſhould be borne by the Athenians. It is remarkable (ſo ſhort a way human wiſdom reaches) that both the one and the other were undone by this arrangement. To the Grecian ſtates, who promiſed to themſelves much eaſe and remiſſion from martial toil, it became the ſource of a ſlothful inactivity; their bodies were enervated, the vigour of their ſpirit was loſt, till from allies and equals they ſunk into mere tributaries. By the ſame illuſive ſcheme the Athenians, inſtead of eſtabliſhing their empire more ſecurely, impaired it: they engaged in unneceſſary wars, they made diſtant conqueſts, they drained by frequent colonies the mother city of her induſtry and vital ſtrength. It is true, the charge they had undertaken preſerved among them the uſe of arms.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

arms. But then, at the ſame time, they forgot thoſe other virtues that had raiſed them to greatneſs; they forgot their mercy, their integrity, their temperance; they learned violence and oppreſſion; they exacted payment of the contributions with too much loftineſs, rather as a mark of homage than as a debt to the public weal; whilſt thoſe treaſures, which were deſigned for the defence of Greece, were laviſhed away in works of ſhew and public decoration, and in the end (as will always happen) in private luxury. In a word, the deliverers of Greece became her ravagers; and envy and hatred, the ſure attendants of power abuſed, cloſely purſued and overtook them. The fate of the Athenians however is not ſingular: the greateſt nations of the earth have trod the ſame road, proceeding by a gradation which one would be tempted to call inevitable, from difficulty and diſtreſs, to proſperity, to inſolence, to decay and final ſubverſion.

THE people of Athens ſoon gave proof, what a fatal truſt had been repoſed in them. The Naxians refuſed to pay the tax aſſeſſed; and immediately were they treated as revolted ſubjects; their cities were ſtormed, their iſland laid waſte, their ſons and daughters ſold to bondage. Soon after, they of Thaſus felt the weight of the Athenian arms. They had *inſolently* aſſumed a kind of independency, and had dared to ſeize on the rich Thracian mines of which they were antiently poſſeſſed. War therefore was denounced againſt them; and notwithſtanding their numerous fleets and their bravery in battle, though for three years they defended themſelves with the utmoſt obſtinacy, their very women loſing their natural timorouſneſs in their concern for their country, and expoſing their lives for her ſafety, the Athenians nevertheleſs

nevertheleſs prevailed at laſt, and deprived them of their territories, their treaſures, their ſhipping, diſmantled their places of ſtrength, and left them a weak and humbled people.

WITH great reluctance the excellent Cimon took on himſelf the conduct of theſe expeditions, compelled to it by the impetuoſity of his countrymen, which he ſought therefore to direct againſt a foreign enemy, as ſoon as an opportunity preſented itſelf. Such a one was found in the revolt of Inarus of Lybia and Amyrtæus the Egyptian againſt Artaxerxes, which inſurgents applying to Athens for aſſiſtance, received a ſupply of two hundred ſhips with a large body of forces. But whilſt Cimon was exerting his endeavours to make the Athenian name terrible in diſtant countries, faction and intrigue had been at work at home. A ſtrong party was formed againſt him under two popular leaders, both of great abilities, Pericles and Ephialtes; the latter a bold, enterpriſing, violent man, of the ſtricteſt integrity in the adminiſtration of the public money, and who made uſe of this very praiſe as a ſure inſtrument to effect his ambitious purpoſes. Pericles, rich and noble, had to his father Xanthippus, who commanded the Athenians at Mycale; his mother was of the family of the great Cliſthenes. Nature and education had conſpired to beſtow on him whatever adorns and recommends, excellent parts, a mind highly cultured, a winning countenance, an inſinuating addreſs: as a ſtateſman, he was profound; as a ſpeaker, powerful beyond any that Athens had ever yet beheld; he was beſides an able general, wiſe in council, brave in battle. What a bleſſing might this man have proved, if he had placed himſelf under a guide leſs treacherous than ambition! Swayed by this principle, as the nobility

Bef. Chriſt 460.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

lity ſtood with Cimon, Pericles devoted himſelf to the party of the people, and he and Ephialtes wrought together.

THEIR firſt ſtep was to corrupt the multitude, by rendering them luxurious and venal. They propoſed, that the expence of ſhews and theatrical entertainments ſhould be defrayed out of the public revenues; that the ſalaries ſhould be raiſed of thoſe who attended in the judicial courts; that the lands of the commonwealth ſhould be divided among the poorer citizens. This, with a view of emulating Cimon's munificence: they could not contend with him in wealth, and therefore was the fortune of the ſtate called in to aſſiſt their ſelfiſh purpoſes. The object of their next attempt was to bring into diſrepute the court of Areopagus, to traduce it as a tribunal governed by the nobles, and conſequently dangerous to the liberties of the people, and to diveſt thoſe venerable ſenators of the right of judging on appeals; thus from unworthy private views removing that ancient pillar of government, on which the commonwealth had ſo long reſted in ſafety.

MATTERS now ſeemed ripe for an attack on Cimon, rendered more obnoxious by his avowed oppoſition to theſe innovations, and particularly by his ſtrenuous defence of the Areopagus; and accordingly a formal accuſation was preferred againſt him. He had reduced Thaſus, which opened to his country the dominion of the Thracian mines, and of the territories adjacent. Nevertheleſs, as if every nation was to bend the knee before Athens, Pericles impeached him, becauſe when he was on the frontiers of Macedon, he had not alſo carried the war into that kingdom, and charged him with having received preſents from the Macedonian king. Cimon's anſwer was plain

plain and honeſt. 'War unprovoked appeared to him robbery and oppreſſion: the Macedonians were a nation juſt, modeſt, honourable, friends to Athens, and void of all artful diſguiſes: he was himſelf a ſtranger to corruption; but their virtues had reſtrained his arms, and taught him to reſpect the peace and rights of a people altogether blameleſs.' Whether the force of his defence made its due impreſſion on the hearers, or Pericles was aſhamed of urging the iniquitous proſecution, certain it is, Cimon was acquitted.

His indefatigable adverſaries however did not long ſuffer him to be at reſt. Whilſt Cimon was abroad at Thaſus, the Lacedemonians were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. An earthquake had laid Sparta in ruins, five houſes only remaining. The Meſſenians and Helotæ taking advantage of the conjuncture, roſe in arms, and probably would that day have put an end to the Spartan name, had not the vigilance of king Archidamus ſaved his country. He was of the race of the Eurypontidæ, and had ſucceeded to his grandfather Leotychides, who died in baniſhment. Amidſt the general conſternation, he ſaw what dangers were to be apprehended from the ſlaves, a body ſo numerous and wretched, and likely to ſeize the opportunity of revenging the late bloody executions. Cauſing an alarm therefore to be ſounded, as if an enemy were at hand, he drew out the citizens; thus at once preventing their being cruſhed under the falling buildings, and ſhewing to the Helotæ a force prepared for battle. His prudence was ſo far ſucceſsful, that the ſlaves retired without further miſchief to the Meſſenian borders, where they ſeized on Ithome, and fortified it againſt their maſters. The Spartans were now beſet with many urging difficulties: their capital

was

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. was no more; a formidable revolt prevailed throughout Laconia; and an enemy, hardy and exaſperated by grievous wrongs, had got poſſeſſion of a place, which in ages paſt had for years baffled the Spartan power. In this diſtreſs, they applied to Athens for ſuccour, but found a ſtrenuous oppoſition from Ephialtes and his party: theſe men repreſented the unkindneſs of Sparta to Athens experienced in many memorable inſtances, her treacherous leagues, and inſidious friendſhips; and the people, who hated the Spartan government, gladly approved of the ungenerous counſel. Soon after, on Cimon's return, the Spartans renewed their ſuit, and being ſupported by Cimon—for he much eſteemed their manners, and employed in their behalf all the influence that remained to him—they obtained that a body of forces ſhould march againſt Ithome. But ſo it happened, they who were beſieging that place, conceiving ſome ſuſpicion of theſe new auxiliaries, inſtead of receiving them as friends, ſent them back diſgracefully. It mattered not what was the motive to this treatment: the effect was a high reſentment on the part of the Athenians, which diſcharged itſelf firſt on Cimon, the advocate for the Spartans: him, at the inſtigation of Pericles, they baniſhed. They then proceeded to remove to their own capital the Grecian treaſure depoſited in Delos, under pretence that the Lacedemonians, whom they now accuſed of the worſt deſigns, would plunder that iſland. This removal was expreſsly contrary to the original ſtipulation, ſolemnly ſworn to by Ariſtides in the name of the Athenians, with dire imprecations on thoſe who ſhould violate it; which objection being now urged to that patriot, 'Let the 'curſe then light on Ariſtides, and let Athens 'proſper!'

'prosper!' was his memorable answer. The man that would not have done wrong, to have purchased to himself the riches of Artaxerxes, was capable of committing a flagrant act of injustice from a mistaken zeal for his country! He died soon after, and (a proof of his integrity) so poor, that he did not leave enough to defray the charges of his interment.

THE resentment of the Athenians against Sparta stopped not here: to shew their hatred in a manner yet more decisive, they engaged in alliance with those of Argos, the inveterate enemies of the Spartan state, who, availing themselves of the confusion of affairs, had laid siege to Mycenæ, and rased it to the ground. We had occasion to mention formerly, what it was that brought on the ruin of this ancient city. At the time of the Persian invasion, when the states of Argolis refused to make opposition against the barbarians, the Myceneans alone leagued with Sparta, and in a signal manner exerted themselves in defence of the common liberties: therefore had the Argives sworn their destruction. And surely it may well be accounted one, not the least, of the evils consequent upon these wicked domestic wars, that a city of such dignity, renowned from the earliest days of Greece, and which had so nobly approved her faith and virtue at a season of utmost peril, should on account of that very merit be suffered to fall a victim to the malice of an iniquitous neighbour.

THE Spartans, though much of their attention was occupied for the space of ten years together with the war against their slaves and the remains of the Messenian nation at Ithome, kept Athens still in view, and endeavoured to excite against her the suspicions and jealousy of the rest of

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. Greece; whilſt the Athenians, equally inimical to Sparta, took every opportunity of humbling her and her confederates. So that, ſtate was now divided againſt ſtate, ſome new commotion inceſſantly breaking out, and every ſlight ſurmiſe affording excuſe for hoſtilities. Firſt, the Corinthians and Epidaurians ventured to contend with Athens in naval combat, and in one engagement they obtained ſome advantage: but this ſucceſs was of ſhort continuance; another engagement followed, when they were totally defeated. The Athenians then invaded Ægina, whoſe inhabitants they ſuſpected of having aſſiſted the Corinthians: the Æginetæ, confiding in a conſiderable marine, refuſed to humble themſelves, which proved their ruin; they loſt their fleet, and were compelled to receive the yoke of their conquerors. The Corinthians recovered ſtrength enough ſoon after to attack the Megareans, who were in amity with Athens; but met with a ſecond defeat. All theſe attempts to check the Athenian power contributed only to augment it. And yet, at this time, the Athenians had only a divided ſtrength, part of their armies and fleets being ſtill abroad in Egypt.

MORE important events now ſucceeded. The Lacedemonians and their confederates, mortified to ſee the fortune of Athens every where triumphant, endeavoured to recover their loſt importance, by marching an army out of Peloponneſus to ſupport the Dorians againſt the people of Phocis. The Athenians, on the other hand, with a fleet of fifty gallies ſailed to the Iſthmus, where landing fourteen thouſand men, they ſeized the paſs, with intent to cut off the retreat of the Spartan force. This rendered a battle inevitable. It was fought at Tanagra, a city of Bœotia, and ended

ended in the defeat of the Athenians by the miſconduct of the Theſſalian horſe, who deſerted them in the beginning of the action. A remarkable circumſtance there happened on this occaſion, which may ſerve to evince, how unhappy to a ſtate is the ſpirit of faction and diſcord. Cimon, though an exile, could not bear to know there was danger to his country, without ſharing it: on the day of battle therefore he took his place, completely armed, among thoſe of his tribe. But the oppoſite party raiſing a clamour, and pretending that a man, whoſe heart was for Sparta, could not be truſted, Cimon thought it expedient to retire, though not without firſt addreſſing himſelf to his companions, in number about one hundred, and beſeeching them, that they would on that day behave in ſuch a manner as to wipe off the unkind aſperſion, and prove to Athens that there was neither treachery in Cimon nor in his friends. Their anſwer was a requeſt to Cimon, that ſince he was not permitted to lead them the way to victory, he would at leaſt leave his armour with them; which having placed in the midſt of their little body, they charged among the thickeſt of the enemy, and after many ſignal exploits were all ſlain. The tide of popular humour was quickly turned by ſuch an incident: the misfortunes of Cimon were ſpoken of with compaſſion, his loyalty with rapture. Pericles perceived the change, and caught at the praiſe of candour by affecting to become the advocate for Cimon, and by drawing up with his own hand the decree which reverſed his ſentence of baniſhment.

The victory at Tanagra was to the Spartans the cauſe of much exultation, as it encouraged them to vindicate ſome portion of that ſovereignty from which they were fallen. They therefore received

BOOK VI. Sect 2.

ceived the Thebans under their protection; and that there might be a power without the Iſthmus able to make head againſt Athens, they inſtated Thebes in all the privileges ſhe had forfeited by her ſcandalous defection to the Perſians, reſtoring her to her ancient dignity, and her pre-eminence over all the Bœotian ſtates. An inſult of this nature the Athenians could not bear: with an army haſtily drawn together, they marched into Bœotia, attacked the Thebans and their allies, though ſuperior far in ſtrength, and gained an entire victory. This is ſpoken of by ſome hiſtorians, as one of the moſt glorious the Athenians ever obtained. Myronides, who commanded on this occaſion, knew how to make a proper uſe of his ſucceſs: he ſtormed Tanagra, and laid it in ruins, as if it had been a crime in that city even to have been witneſs of the defeat of his countrymen; he ravaged all Bœotia, after beating a ſecond army which the Bœotians brought together; obliged the Locri of Opus to give him hoſtages; and finally entering Theſſaly, ſeverely chaſtiſed the inhabitants for their perfidious deſertion.

THIS courſe of proſperity, it may well be ſuppoſed, did not leſſen the ambition and pride of the Athenian people: the following year, Tolmides offered with a ſmall force to invade even Laconia itſelf. The propoſal was accepted, a deſcent was made on ſeveral parts with much devaſtation, Gythium was taken and burnt with all the ſhipping and naval ſtores contained in it. The admiral's next exploit was to reduce Zacynthus, from which iſland he paſſed on to Naupactus, ejected the Locri Ozolæ whoſe it was, and ſettled the exiled Meſſenians in their ſtead. Scarcely had Tolmides left the Peloponneſian coaſt, when Pericles with another fleet and freſh troops appeared

ed to complete the devaſtation of the country, taking, plundering, and burning whatever places he attempted. Nor indeed did the Spartans make oppoſition. Continual loſſes and a long waſting war had broken their ſpirit; and they did not dare even to appear before an enemy, under whoſe banners Victory ſeemed now to have taken up her abode. BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

CIMON, that excellent man, beheld with deep concern theſe fatal triumphs, which gave preſent empire to Athens, but at the ſame time brought deſolation and weakneſs on Greece in general. He endeavoured to inſpire his fellow citizens with better thoughts, and to put an end to theſe ruinous invaſions. At length his remonſtrances had effect: he was ſo happy as to conclude a five years' truce between Athens and Sparta, and to engage the Athenians rather to ſeek glory by weakening the common enemy of Greece. It was determined to attack the barbarians; againſt whom accordingly a powerful force was appointed, with a fleet of two hundred gallies, the whole under the command of Cimon. Part of theſe he immediately ordered to Egypt, where the Athenian fortune had undergone a ſtrange revolution.

IN the beginning, the ſucceſs of the Athenians had been great: they had defeated all that appeared againſt them, and in one battle only had ſlain an hundred thouſand of the barbarians, with Achæmenides, brother to the Great King, and his general in thoſe parts; ſo that the total loſs of Egypt ſeemed to follow, and ſuch were the apprehenſions of Artaxerxes, that he even ſolicited the Spartans with the offer of an immenſe largeſs, to invade the Attic territories, and oblige that enterpriſing people to abandon Egypt. Indeed the domeſtic circumſtances of Sparta did not allow a compliance

Bef. Chriſt 459.

Bef. Chriſt 458.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

compliance with the propoſal at this time, the Meſſenian revolt diſtreſſing her ſorely. However the king's affairs in Egypt had ſoon another aſpect. Abler commanders, with more numerous forces, were ſent in the room of Achæmenides; the Athenians were preſſed, their ſhips deſtroyed, their troops waſted, and in a word, the remains of this once victorious army were moſt of them diſperſed and loſt in the Lybian wilds, through which they endeavoured to make their way back into Greece. Inarus, who had encouraged the rebellion, was taken and crucified. Amyrtæus eſcaped to the Fens, to the iſland of Elbo, where he ſtill maintained a ſhew of ſovereignty, and a languid kind of war. And to his aſſiſtance did Cimon now ſend a part of his ſhips. With the remainder he ſailed to Cyprus, and took Malus and Citium; thence he went in ſearch of the Phœnician fleet, defeats them, makes to the coaſt of Cilicia, lands his men, engages and beats the army under Megabyzus that was encamped there, and ſailing back to Cyprus, lays ſiege to Salamis, the capital of the iſland.

Bef. Chriſt 456.

Bef. Chriſt 454.

Bef. Chriſt 450.

THUS attacked on every ſide, in Cilicia, in Cyprus, in Egypt; by ſea, by land, and that by a people whoſe very name had terror in it, and led on by a general whoſe former exploits were but too well remembered, the humbled Perſian at length ſued for peace. The death of Themiſtocles, which happened ſome time before, on whom the king had placed very much of his dependence, contributed not a little to haſten his purpoſe of concluding the war, which he commiſſioned his lieutenants to do on any conditions. Accordingly the terms of peace were ſuch, as ſufficiently ſhew what the Athenians were in thoſe glorious days. 'The Greek cities of Aſia were all declared free

Bef. Chriſt 449.

'and

'and independent. The Perſians were not to BOOK
'preſume to ſend an armed force within three VI.
'days' journey of the ſea: nor were any of their Sect. 2.
'ſhips of war to ſail from the Cyanean rocks, at
'the entrance of the Black Sea, to the Cheli-
'donian iſlands, which lay off the Pamphylian
'coaſt.' And on theſe conditions did the Athenians ſtipulate, that 'neither would they invade
'any of the provinces of the Perſian empire.'
From thoſe days, never did the Perſians attempt more to ſubdue Greece by arms: they found out a method leſs hazardous; they employed intrigue and golden bribes; they encouraged jealouſy and contention among the ſeveral ſtates, and by aſſiſting one againſt the other, waſted the ſtrength of all.

WHILST this treaty was concluding, Cimon died at Citium, as it were, in the arms of victory. When he found his end approaching, he called the principal commanders, and made it his laſt requeſt, that they ſhould conceal his death, leſt, if known to the enemy at that critical juncture, it might prove prejudicial to his country. It is needleſs to enlarge much on the character of this excellent man. We have ſeen him in war, in peace; in the one, a faithful upright miniſter, and except that unhappy proſecution of Themiſtocles, in which he had too great a ſhare, a ſtranger to all the mean arts wherein ambition is converſant. And what moſt deſerves admiration, never did man love his country with more ſincere affection: he loved her for her own ſake; he loved her with a view not to make *himſelf* great, but to make *her* proſperous and happy; he oppoſed her vanity, he blamed her oppreſſions, he thwarted her froward humours, even at the expence of his own ſafety, and to the utmoſt of his power ſaved her from the guilt

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

guilt and ſtain of domeſtic blood. In war likewiſe he had all the abilities, the calmneſs, and reſolution, that denominate the hero: never did ſoldier fight more ſucceſsfully, never did general make a better uſe of ſucceſs. With all this, the more exalted feelings of the heart were his: he had every virtue of which his piety to his father had given an early preſage; merciful, generous, melting at the diſtreſſes of his fellow creature, and happy in the goods of fortune, only becauſe they gave him an opportunity of making others happy.

THE misfortunes, that followed when he was no more, ſufficiently atteſt the worth of this extraordinary perſon. Athens ſoon found, that in Cimon ſhe had loſt her ableſt counſellor, and her trueſt friend.

BOOK VI.

SECTION I.

THE adminiſtration of Pericles, on which we are now to enter, forms the moſt brilliant period of the Athenian annals, if the meed of fame is to be aſſigned to the ſpirit and grandeur of public enterpriſes, abſtracted from utility. It had been the affectionate and perpetual counſel of Cimon to his countrymen, 'not to oppreſs and 'deſtroy, but to heal and unite.' Pericles choſe another plan of government. He was a man, though in arms not inferior to Cimon, and in brightneſs of parts and fine improvements of mind far before him, yet in moſt other reſpects the reverſe of that virtuous ſtateſman; ſacrificing his country to his ambition, laviſh of the public treaſure to win the ſuffrages of the multitude, ſeeking to eſtabliſh his power even on the ruins of the common felicity, and ſcheming deſtructive wars, that he might avail himſelf of the confuſion.

BOOK VI. Sect. I. Bef. Chriſt 449.

THE

BOOK VI. Sect. 1.

THE fatal influence of this kind of ſpirit was ſoon felt. The Phocians had made ſacrilegious attempts on the privileges of the people of Delphi, by invading the cuſtody of the Pythian temple; the Lacedemonians marched an army in ſupport of the Delphians; Athens of courſe eſpouſed the Phocian party, ſending aſſiſtance to the oppreſſors, without much regard to the delicacy of religious ſcruple; and all this, the five years' truce ſtill ſubſiſting: but both they of Sparta and they of Athens diſavowed their being *principals* in the war; and ſo, by a cobweb diſtinction not unlike the refinement of modern times, was the compact of peace ſuppoſed entire. This is known by the name of the Second Sacred War.

OTHER wrongs, and other expeditions, now followed in quick ſucceſſion one after the other. Bœotia was invaded again, but with ill ſucceſs; for Tolmides paid the price of a raſh attack with his life, his army was routed, nor did the Athenians recover their priſoners till they had ſolemnly renounced all ſovereignty over the Bœotian cities. The revolt of Eubœa brought on new troubles, for the ſuppreſſing of which Pericles had juſt paſſed over into that iſland, when news of the defection of the Megareans obliged him to haſten back to the defence of Attica. The people of Megara, impatient of the inſolent and oppreſſive demeanor of Athens towards her confederates, had renounced her alliance for that of Sparta; and the Spartans, the truce being now expired, were on their march towards the Attic borders to ſupport the Megareans. Pliſtoanax commanded the Spartans on this occaſion: he was ſon to the famed Pauſanias, and had ſucceeded to the throne in the room of his couſin Pliſtarchus, who died without iſſue. Such a ſtate of affairs might have diſtreſſed

diſtreſſed a leſs able ſtateſman; but Pericles was ingenious in deviſing reſources: by a preſent properly applied he checked the martial order of the young king, and the Spartans were made to retreat without fighting. It is ſaid, that ten talents effected this. Neither is the preſent the only inſtance occurring in hiſtory, that the Lacedemonians were capable of being corrupted. Leotychides, Pauſanias, and many others ſhew us, that the luſt of riches had wrought its way into Sparta, notwithſtanding the ſtrong ramparts Lycurgus had raiſed againſt it. However, Pliſtoanax was baniſhed. The receſs of the Spartans left Pericles at leiſure to purſue the Eubœan war, which he did with great vigour; ſo that having in a ſhort time reduced the whole iſland, he modelled the government anew, eſtabliſhing a democracy, and entirely ejected the people of Hiſtiæa, who had been foremoſt in the defection. Soon after, a truce was concluded with Sparta for thirty years.

BOOK VI. Sect. 1.

PERICLES was now raiſed to that high ſummit, which his ambitious hopes had long had in proſpect. Athens was become the dread and admiration of all the nations around: her dominion reached from the Euxine to the ſea of Crete, from the coaſts of Aſia to the Adriatic gulph; mighty potentates courted her friendſhip; ſhe counted ſcarcely leſs than an hundred ſtates among her tributaries. And this ſplendor of empire Pericles enjoyed: he was ſole at the head of this powerful commonwealth; and all the perſons, who could either have ſhared his honours, or counteracted his deſigns, were no more. Tolmides, Myronides, were dead: Ephialtes, that uſeful friend of his, had been aſſaſſinated by the contrary party: the nobles were all humbled; and

Bef. Chriſt 446.

Thucydides,

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Thucydides, the laſt of them that durſt ſtand againſt him, had been baniſhed by ſentence of oſtraciſm, and had obtained leave to return, only on condition that he ſhould no longer oppoſe his meaſures. The people likewiſe, that haughty high-ſpirited people, he had charmed into ſubjection. His irreſiſtible eloquence, his gratifying them by leading out frequent colonies of the poorer citizens, and aſſigning them rich poſſeſſions, his largeſſes out of the treaſury, the ſumptuous ſhews, the muſical and ſcenic entertainments of all kinds which he exhibited to them, the ſplendid ornaments with which he enriched their city, temples, baths, porticoes, theatres, ſtatues, paintings; all theſe, though at the ſame time the very vitals of the ſtate were drawn out for the execution of them, acquired him the love of a people, too much addicted to pomp and elegance, and paſſionate admirers of works of taſte and delicacy. Then beſides, this public magnificence produced emulation in private life: the houſes of Athens were become palaces, and her citizens princes: every where was profuſeneſs gaining ground, in their dreſs, in their feaſts, in their furniture, in their equipages. Theſe vicious manners were uſeful to Pericles; they rendered the Athenians needy and dependent; they diverted the activity of the upper claſs of citizens, from forming intrigues againſt him, to the humble employment of ſeeking materials for luxury.

INDEED it muſt be acknowledged, in ſome things the ſtateſman, whoſe character we are deſcribing, had the real ſtrength of Athens in view. The walls, five miles in length, which joined the Pirean harbour to the city, though begun by Cimon, were finiſhed by him: and to his glory

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it is recorded, that he encloſed the whole Thracian Cherſoneſus with ſupendous works, which effectually ſecured the Athenian colonies in the region againſt the inroads of their neighbours. Nevertheleſs, for the moſt part, little elſe did he conſult beſides ſhew and ornament. It is hardly to be conceived, what immenſe ſums he expended in this manner during an adminiſtration of fifteen years (for ſo long a time did he govern ſolely) and what various works he planned and completed; works of that exquiſite contrivance and finiſhed beauty, that, if Plutarch may be believed, all the ſtructures and all the decorations of Rome even to the time of the Cæſars, when her ſceptre ſtretched over the greateſt part of the known world, had nothing to compare, in greatneſs either of deſign or expence, with the luſtre of thoſe which Pericles alone executed at Athens.

When we are told, that to a public conduct thus ſpecious were added in private life many ſolid virtues; that the manners of this illuſtrious Athenian were frugal, ſtrict, reſerved; his hands uncontaminated by iniquitous gains; that of all that immenſe wealth which he adminiſtered, no portion was he ever known to apply to the encreaſe of his private fortune, or the ſupport of his private exceſſes; when we view him only on this ſide, we are not ſurpriſed to hear him ſpoken of by many writers of antiquity, as a man of great virtue and integrity unblemiſhed. But unhappily the other ſide of his character preſents a ſhew of defects, as important at leaſt as his good qualities; among which defects ambition is the moſt prominent. He ſought to govern Athens. For this purpoſe he opened the exchequer to the craving multitude, he gratified their paſſions, he fed their voluptuouſneſs, he multiplied their wants. The very

Book V. Sect. 2.

very virtues which he poſſeſſed, undid his country. It was his coolneſs of judgment improved by temperate living, it was his brightneſs of parts cultivated by philoſophy and retirement, that rendered him the more dangerous; and by theſe arts he raiſed himſelf to power. How great was that power, we may judge from the following inſtance.

Psammeticus of Egypt had ſent a preſent of corn to the Athenian people; which circumſtance induced an enquiry, who were entitled to the privileges of Athenian citizens. Pericles took the opportunity of indulging his animoſity againſt the family of Cimon, who married an Arcadian woman, by preferring a decree, whereby all perſons, not of Athenian blood both by father and mother, ſhould be disfranchiſed. This cruel ordinance had he the hardineſs to propoſe, and the people the ſervility and tameneſs to paſs into a law. It is ſaid, that under colour of this law near five thouſand perſons were ſtript of their freedom. One curious particular has been tranſmitted to us in conſequence of this memorable ordinance, that the Athenian citizens polled on the occaſion amounted to no more than fourteen thouſand and forty: an aſtoniſhing paucity, when we reflect to what an height of empire this people had now aſcended!

Pericles however was not unaware, how much the arts of luxury, introduced by his adminiſtration into Athens, tended to relax the martial temper of the inhabitants, and to encourage other ſtates to attempt their deſtruction. As a wiſe politician therefore, he provided againſt the miſchief by not ſuffering his people to remain inactive. Every year he equipped a fleet of eighty gallies, manned with the choſen youths of Athens: theſe he ſent to cruiſe in the Grecian ſeas, to awe the tributary ſtates, to viſit and protect their foreign colonies,

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NEAR the Aſiatic coaſt was Samos, a rich fertile iſland, inhabited by one of the moſt powerful nations in thoſe parts. A war broke out between the Samians and thoſe of Miletus concerning the city Priene, in which the Mileſians being worſted, applied to Athens for aſſiſtance, and with them certain of the Samians alſo, who diſliked the ariſtocratical government then eſtabliſhed at Samos. Both theſe ſtates were under the protection of Athens. The Athenians therefore commanded both to deſiſt from further hoſtilities, and wait their deciſion; a command which the Samians, flushed with victory, refuſed to obey. War was in conſequence denounced againſt them, and Pericles had orders without delay to chaſtiſe the rebellious iſlanders. He performed this ſervice without difficulty: their principal cities were taken, their laws abrogated, a democracy introduced, a garriſon ſet over them, and fifty perſons of diſtinction, with as many children of noble birth, delivered to him as hoſtages. It appears, that the Samians omitted no means to ſoften their mercileſs conqueror; they humbled themſelves, they entreated, they offered large ſums: even Piſſuthnes, governor of Sardis, interceded in their behalf, and would have paid ten thouſand pieces to purchaſe their pardon—but all to no purpoſe—Pericles was inexorable. Theſe violent proceedings had the effect, which violent proceedings generally have. Pericles being departed, the oppreſſed party roſe in arms, ejected the Athenian garriſon, Bef. Chriſt 443.

Book V. Sect. 2.

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BOOK VI. Sect. 1. garriſon, recovered their hoſtages, and re-eſtabliſhed their antient government. Preſently Pericles appears again before Samos, and beſieges it by ſea and land, but is obliged to ſail away with part of his fleet to give battle to a Phœnician ſquadron ſent to the relief of the Samians. During his abſence, the beſieged had the fortune, in a ſally, to defeat the forces he left behind him. But this was only a gleam of ſucceſs. Pericles returned victorious; and the unhappy Samians, deprived of all hopes of ſuccour, were, after a nine months' ſiege, obliged to ſurrender: their walls were demoliſhed, their ſhipping taken away, and a ſevere fine, equal to the expence which the Athenians had ſuſtained, impoſed on them.

Bef. Chriſt 439.

THE ſucceſs of this war, ſo fatal to a ſtate, in might and martial virtue accounted equal almoſt to Athens herſelf, contributed very much to render the Athenians more haughty and more envied. The confederate nations beheld with horror that city, which was once the protectreſs of liberty and the champion of Greece, threatening devaſtation to all who preſumed to diſpute her commands. Even in Athens itſelf luxury had not made ſo abſolute a conqueſt over all generoſity of ſentiment, but there were found ſeveral, eſpecially after this cataſtrophe of the Samian ſtate, who openly avowed their deteſtation of theſe violent meaſures. Plutarch tells us, that on the very day when Pericles, according to cuſtom, pronounced the funeral panegyric of ſuch as had fallen in the courſe of the war, as he was deſcending from the orator's place amidſt the acclamations of the multitude, numbers even of the Athenian ladies crouding about him and crowning him with garlands, Elpinice, ſiſter to Cimon, had the reſolution publicly to reproach him with his deſtructive victories;

victories; 'obtained,' ſaid ſhe, 'not againſt the BOOK
'natural enemies of our country, in wars ſuch as VII.
'my brother Cimon waged, but againſt a city in Sect. 1.
'alliance with us, inhabited by a people ſprung
'from the ſame ſtock, and ſpeaking the ſame
'language.'

NEVERTHELESS the ſplendor of theſe conqueſts, a ſplendor in which indeed every people is but too apt to place their glory, ſtill preſerved to Pericles much favour and admiration; and he continued, as before, adding to the domeſtic magnificence of Athens, and rendering her reſpected and feared abroad. Thus affairs went on, till at length the growing vanity, the haughtineſs, and ambition of the Athenians on the one hand, and the envy and various reſentments of the Grecian ſtates on the other, brought on a war, which tried the ſtrength of this ſpecious fabric, and has left to ſucceeding ages the inſtructive leſſon, that no empire can be of long duration, which is not founded in moderation, juſtice, and virtue. The war we ſpeak of is *the Peloponneſian*, one of the moſt intereſting in the records of hiſtory, whether we conſider the length or the iſſue of it, whether the reputation and martial ſkill of the nations that contended, or the earneſt ſtruggle with which the victory was contended for. The events, which opened the way to this revolution of things, have a juſt claim to the reader's attention.

IN Illyricum, on the Ionian or Adriatic gulph, was Epidamnus (afterwards called Dyrrhachium) a city founded by the Corcyreans. Some civil diſſenſions having involved the Epidamnians in an inteſtine war, the weaker party addreſſed themſelves in ſuppliant manner firſt to thoſe of Corcyra, and then (the Corcyreans not regarding

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

their ſuit) to Corinth, the foundreſs of the Corcyrean people. The Corinthians, in conſequence of the rights uſually claimed by a parent ſtate over its ſeveral colonies, received the ſupplicants under their protection, vindicated Epidamnus from the inſults of the oppoſite faction, and ſent thither a new ſupply of inhabitants. This ſeemed a grievous indignity to the Corcyreans, who, encreaſed in power, had long ſince diſdained any *filial* dependence on Corinth: they immediately laid ſiege to Epidamnus; and at the ſame time appointed an embaſſy to the Corinthians to require, that they ſhould deſiſt entirely from intermeddling in the affairs of a city, in the government of which they had no concern. But the Corinthians rejecting the demand, and ordering a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged, the Corcyreans met them off the promontory of Actium, defeated them, forced Epidamnus to ſurrender, put to the ſword all the natives found in it, and made the Corinthians priſoners of war; and being now maſters at ſea, infeſted, ravaged, and burned ſeveral colonies and confederate cities of Corinth, lying on the Ionian gulph. Exaſperated by theſe injuries, not leſs than by the wrongs done to the oppreſſed Epidamnians, the Corinthians renewed their preparations, raiſed troops in divers parts of Greece, and equipped a navy much more powerful than the former.

Bef. Chriſt 434.

ARMAMENTS ſo formidable obliged the Corcyreans to deviſe new means of defence: they deputed embaſſadors to Athens to ſolicit an alliance, and to demand aid. Neither were the Corinthians idle ſpectators of this important negotiation: their embaſſadors followed thoſe of Corcyra, and employed their utmoſt induſtry to traverſe the proceeding,

proceeding, alledging to the aſſembly of the people, that there was peace between Athens and Corinth, nor could the Athenians make a league with Corcyra, without departing from the terms of the treaty then ſubſiſting. And at firſt the plea of Corinth was favourably received: but afterwards, political conſiderations intervening, it was determined to conclude an alliance with the Corcyreans, on the terms of mutually defending whichever ſtate ſhould be attacked. The conſequence was a Corinthian war. For a ſquadron of Athenian ſhips having joined the fleet of Corcyra, and an engagement enſuing between the Corcyreans and the Corinthians, they of Athens not only aſſiſted the Corcyreans as the battle preſſed hard on them, but alſo officiouſly fought out and aſſailed the Corinthians. And ſoon after were orders likewiſe ſent from Athens to Potidæa, a tributary city of theirs on the Thermaic gulph, whoſe faith they ſuſpected, becauſe it was originally a Corinthian colony, and ſtill received its magiſtrates annually from Corinth, to demoliſh their walls on the ſide of Pallene, to eject their magiſtrates, and give hoſtages. The Potidæans endeavoured much to deprecate this rigorous ſentence; but finding entreaties ineffectual, they reſolved to diſavow all ſubmiſſion to Athens, and to abide any hazards rather than to be thus deſpoiled of their liberties. Perdiccas of Macedonia, it is ſaid, who was extremely jealous of the Athenian power, and conceived himſelf injured in many inſtances by that people, encouraged the defection of the Potidæans. This in the natural order of things brought on a war in thoſe parts: the Athenians aſſerted their right of dominion, and Potidæa was inveſted.

Ref. Chriſt 432.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

SUCH bold attempts alarmed moſt of the Grecian ſtates. Corinth, the barrier of Peloponneſus, and its only protection by ſea, attacked; Potidæa beſieged; Macedonia threatened; and what was yet far worſe, Athens, already too formidable, ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the Corcyreans, a people brave, and mighty in naval force—all theſe things were thought to have a dark, louring aſpect. A general aſſembly therefore of the ſeveral ſtates that apprehended danger to themſelves, the Bœotians, the Megareans, the Locri Ozolæ and of Opus, the people of Ambracia, of Leucate and Anactorium, the Arcadians, the Eleans, the Pellenians, was held at Sparta, where the Corinthians in the moſt pathetic manner repreſented, 'how dreadful the power of Athens was, how 'daring and active her genius, how unjuſt and 'oppreſſive her dominion: dependence and bond-'age impended over Greece: an abſolute neceſ-'ſity exiſted for all the ſtates there combined, to 'unite forthwith in war againſt an aſpiring peo-'ple, whoſe ambition knew no bounds, who 'fought and conquered only with a view of tempt-'ing other enterpriſes, and acquiring other con-'queſts.'

THIS diſcourſe inflamed the minds of men, already prepared for angry counſels. And though certain Athenians, who happened to be then at Sparta in a public character, interpoſed in behalf of their commonwealth, and with great energy ſet forth 'the ſervices and exploits of the Athe-'nian people, how gloriouſly they had obtained 'empire, and how juſt it was they ſhould endea-'vour to preſerve it,' little regard nevertheleſs was paid to their remonſtrances, the whole aſſembly appearing to breathe nothing elſe but reſentment,

and

and indignation, and defiance. The Spartan king Archidamus was the only perſon, who ſhewed himſelf prudent and diſpaſſionate; he wiſhed to moderate the heats that prevailed among them, and would have recalled them to milder ſentiments: but to no purpoſe. It was the voice both of the council of Sparta and of the aſſembled ſtates, that 'the Athenians had violated the 'peace;' and embaſſadors were ordered, in the name of the confederated powers, to charge them with the infraction, and demand juſtice.

A TRAIN of embaſſies from the united adverſaries of Athens was the prelude to the commencing of hoſtilities. The firſt that went required, 'that the poſterity of thoſe, who had been exe-'crated for polluting the ſanctuary in the days of 'Cylon, ſhould be ſent into baniſhment.' This was deſigned to ſtrike at Pericles, by the maternal line, as we have ſaid, of the family of the Alcmæonidæ. The Athenians recriminated, by challenging the Spartans to baniſh thoſe who murdered the Helotæ in their ſanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Tænarus, and to make atonement for the pollution of the temple of Minerva, in which Pauſanias had taken refuge. Other embaſſadors followed after theſe, to enjoin them 'to 'raiſe the ſiege of Potidæa, to reſtore the Ægi-'netæ to their liberties, and to reſcind the decree 'againſt the Megareans.' For the Megareans having cut down a conſecrated grove, and profaned the hallowed ground, the Athenians ſent a herald to remonſtrate againſt the ſacrilege, who dying on his road, the Megareans were accuſed of having aſſaſſinated him; and on this account had it been decreed, that every Megarean found in the territories of Attica ſhould be put to death; and every

BOOK VII. Sect. 1. every year it was given in commiſſion to the Athenian generals, that they ſhould, twice during the time of their command, make an inroad into the Megarean borders. This embaſſy meeting with no better ſucceſs than the former, a third ſucceeded, commanding the people of Athens 'to diſſolve 'the empire they had uſurped, and to permit all 'the Grecian ſtates to be governed by their own 'laws.'

A PEOPLE in the zenith of power, and high of ſpirit, like the Athenians, were not framed to receive with temper meſſages thus inſulting. However an aſſembly being convoked, there were ſome who propoſed making certain conceſſions: but Pericles, by an oration extremely artful and well digeſted, ſoon put an end to all thoughts of peace. He ſhewed, 'what were the views of the 'Peloponneſian allies; that they intended not 'equal government, but the depreſſion and ruin 'of the Athenian power; that therefore it was 'neither the juſtice of the decree againſt Megara, 'nor the ſubjection of the Æginetæ, they were 'now contending for, but the whole of their authority and dominion was at ſtake, which their 'enemies were ſeeking to undermine gradually; 'and that from any conceſſion to the preſent demands no other conſequence would ariſe, but a 'demand of more.' At the ſame time he conjured them 'not to lay blame on him, when they 'ſhould find themſelves involved in the calamities 'of war:' he forewarned them 'of the diſtreſſes, 'which that now impending would naturally 'bring on, the ravaging of Attica, the waſte of 'their lands and villas: but theſe,' he told them, 'were poſſeſſions of inferior conſequence; whilſt 'the ſeas were theirs, whilſt the iſlands and continents

'tinents of Thrace and Aſia were open to them, BOOK
'whilſt they could at will ſpread deſolation VII.
'through the enemies' borders, who not having Sect. 1.
'the ſame reſources, muſt feel infinitely more
'miſery, ſtill muſt the advantage be on the ſide of
'Athens; and that conſequently their wiſdom
'muſt be to avoid a battle, for that the devaſta-
'tion of lands or houſes might be eaſily repaired,
'but the loſs of men was an evil out of the reach
'of cure.' In concluſion he adviſed, that this anſwer ſhould be returned to the Spartan deputies: 'the Megareans ſhould have admiſſion into
'the ports and markets of Athens, when the Spar-
'tans alſo conſented to admit into their cities the
'Athenians and their friends: the cities ſubject
'to Athens, which were free when the peace was
'made, ſhould be diſcharged from all ſubjection,
'provided Sparta led the way, by reſtoring to
'all the ſtates which ſhe had enſlaved the full en-
'joyment of their laws and liberties: the conduct
'of the Athenians would by the ſtricteſt examin-
'ation be found perfectly to conſiſt with the arti-
'cles ſtipulated: and as to the war, they neither
'ſought nor feared it, but were ready to revenge
'any inſult on thoſe who ſhould dare firſt to offer
'it.' With this final anſwer the embaſſadors departed, and military preparations were carried on throughout Greece.

IT can hardly be ſuppoſed, that the Peloponneſians ſeriouſly expected from Athens a compliance with the demands which their embaſſadors were commiſſioned to make; and hence there are not wanting hiſtorians who affirm, they would have been contented with much leſs, if any tendency to moderation had appeared on the ſide of the Athenians. But it is certain, that the jealouſies

of

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

of moſt of the confederating ſtates had long ſince, like fire pent up, been working for vent, and muſt at length have burſt out into a flame; though no doubt the Athenians, by giving way to the ſuggeſtions of ambition, accelerated the rupture. That ambition was their motive for engaging in alliance with the Corcyreans, Thucydides himſelf is witneſs: 'the fleets of Corcyra,' he tells us, 'were to be a conſiderable addition to their maritime force; they were apprehenſive, leſt the Corinthians ſhould become too powerful by the reduction of ſuch a people; and they expected, that by ſupporting thoſe of Corcyra againſt them, they ſhould have an opportunity of conſuming the vigour of Corinth, and ſinking that naval competitor into a ſtate of ſubjection. Then beſides, 'the iſland of Corcyra was conveniently ſituated for the conqueſt of Sicily.' For with this vain fantaſtical hope did they pleaſe themſelves: and great as their dominion already was, beyond what their natural ſtrength could well compaſs, yet a greater extent of dominion, and ſcarcely leſs than univerſal monarchy, had they in proſpect.

PERICLES alſo was a main promoter of the war. It is true, he was averſe from any attempt on Sicily, being too wiſe a politician to encourage the plan of diſtant conqueſts: but a war was become neceſſary to him. His enemies were gaining ground; and he had already ſuffered deeply in the perſons of his intimates and friends, ſeveral of whom had fallen victims to the reſentments of the adverſe faction. Damon, one of his moſt faithful counſellors, a man of uncommon abilities, who under the profeſſion of muſic maſter to Pericles concealed the elegant ſcholar and able ſtateſman,

man, had been baniſhed. His tutor Anaxagoras, counted among the brighteſt luminaries of the Grecian world, whoſe exalted notions reſpecting the Creator of the univerſe procured him the name of Anaxagoras *the Intelligence*, was obliged to depart out of Attica, his opinion of the heavenly bodies not according to the ſuperſtitions of the vulgar; whence, it ſeems, a pretext was taken for accuſing him of atheiſtical tenets. Even Phidias, the artiſt to whoſe happy genius and maſterly hand Athens owed her nobleſt ornaments, by whom the ſtatue of Minerva, one of the moſt celebrated works of antiquity, had been executed, was impeached for defrauding the public, and conſpiring againſt the liberties of his country. His real crime was, that he had preſumed to introduce the figure of Pericles among the perſonages by him pourtrayed on the ſhield of the goddeſs. For this, it is ſaid by ſome, his enemies purſued the unfortunate artiſt even to death; though the more general tradition affirms him to have been ſentenced only to baniſhment. BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

But what had given to Pericles the moſt ſenſible wound, was the attack made on Aſpaſia of Miletus. Aſpaſia was the favourite miſtreſs of Pericles; a lady in whom, though accounted the fineſt woman of her time, beauty was the meaneſt accompliſhment. Quickneſs of apprehenſion, ſurpriſing depth of judgment, the moſt captivating eloquence, were hers; and theſe, improved by ſtudy, by philoſophical reſearches, by converſing with the beſt and wiſeſt men of Athens: ſo that Pericles had in her not only a miſtreſs; he had a counſellor, a companion, a friend, with whom he adviſed in the moſt preſſing difficulties, and from whom, when he had occaſion to harangue the people,

BOOK VII. Sect. 1. people, ſkilled as he was in the arts of ſpeech, he was not aſhamed to take inſtructions. The oppoſite party therefore made trial of their ſtrength by attacking the fair Aſpaſia: they charged her with impiety, a charge rendered credible, it may be preſumed, by her frequent converſations with the philoſopher Anaxagoras. The diſtreſs of Pericles on this occaſion exceeded any he had ever yet experienced: he employed all his influence, he pleaded her cauſe, he perſonally interceded with the judges in her behalf; and with difficulty ſaved her from condemnation.

His adverſaries now took courage. A motion was made, that Pericles ſhould produce his accounts, and lay the ſtate of the exchequer before the proper judges. This was what he was by no means prepared to do; for though he had never appropriated to his own uſe the public wealth, yet had he laviſhed away a third part of the funds in wanton vain expences, in purchaſing the favour and applauſe of the multitude. Uneaſy at theſe attempts on his power, and doubtful of the iſſue, Pericles determined to plunge his country into confuſion. It is ſaid, that on a certain day, while he was muſing concerning theſe matters, Alcibiades, then a youth, and ward to Pericles, aſked his guardian, 'Why ſo penſive?' and being anſwered by him, that he was ſtudying to give in his accounts, 'Rather,' replied the ſprightly young man, 'ſtudy not to give in any 'account at all:' and it appears this was the advice Pericles followed. He flattered himſelf, that the voice of complaint would not be heard againſt him amidſt the din of war, at a time when his ſuperior abilities would extort a deference to him from all his countrymen, even from

from thoſe who oppoſed him at preſent, and who during ehe ſunſhine of peace aſſumed to themſelves the character of important leaders.

FROM the death of Cimon to the beginning of the Peloponneſian war elapſed only the ſpace of about nineteen years.

BOOK

BOOK VII.

SECTION II.

THE hiſtory of Athens is an inſtructive leſſon to mankind. Never had the Athenians a more formidable ſhew of power, than at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war. All the Greeks of Aſia from Caria to the Helleſpont, with the numerous iſlands of the Egean ſea, were ſubject to them. A conſiderable part of the Thracian coaſt was theirs. And in Greece, the Theſſalians, the Acarnanians, the Meſſenians of Naupactus, the Eubœans, and Corcyreans were joined with them in firm alliance. No nation could compare with them in naval ſtrength. They were rich in treaſure; and beſides what the culture of Attica, what their extenſive commerce, and the tribute of the confederate ſtates produced, they had moreover the valuable mines of Thrace in their poſſeſſion. Nothing was to be ſeen within the Athenian walls but ornament and ſplendor; all

Book VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 431.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

all the refined arts flouriſhing in high perfection, ſculpture and painting, muſic and poetry, learning and eloquence; and every day numbers arriving from every part of the earth to learn elegance and taſte from this improved people.

WHO, that looked no deeper than into the ſurface of this republic, would ſuppoſe the Athenians were now leſs great than in the days of Miltiades? If we turn our eyes back to that period, we ſhall find, the rugged barren ſoil of Attica was the extent of their territory; they were ſtrong neither in wealth nor alliances, neither in naval nor military preparations; and a mighty war, menacing their utter deſtruction, impended over them. And yet, in the eſtimate of reaſon, thoſe were her days of glory. Her manners then were unbroken, and her ſons virtuous: they were an induſtrious, hardy, frugal race, incapable of purchaſing even life itſelf at the expence of liberty and honour, and placing their higheſt happineſs in the proſperity of their country—therefore were they victorious. Whereas now, abundant wealth and exceſs of power had transformed them: they were become, abroad, imperious and arrogant; at home, devoted to pleaſures and idle entertainments, and impatient of controul and ſage advice; their ambitious hopes compaſſing the empire of the world, and their leaders forgetting the common good for the ſake of private emolument. Theſe were the evils that brought on the Peloponneſian war, and made it fatal to them.

THE Lacedemonians however, who headed the confederacy againſt Athens, had no right to found any claim to the gratitude of Greece on the purity of their intentions for her welfare: whatever they might pretend, their real object was the advancement of their own empire. It is the remark

mark of Thucydides, a moſt judicious hiſtorian, who was himſelf a witneſs to the tranſactions of thoſe days, that they had long beheld with envious eyes the glory of the Athenian people, and gladly ſeized the opportunity of humbling this powerful neighbour. The ſame obſervation holds good as to all thoſe engaged in the alliance: the faults of the Athenians furniſhed the excuſe, but their own jealouſy and ambition were the real incitements. The Corinthians were grieved at the naval ſtrength of Athens. The Bœotians hated her reputation and exalted character: her very manners and laws, the ſprightly parts and delicacy of genius for which her inhabitants were renowned, her generous courage and love of liberty —all thoſe were pain to them: they ſaw their own country obſcured by the compariſon, and the name of Thebes connected with ideas of inferiority and contempt. Probably too the gold of Artaxerxes was not wanting to bribe to his intereſt the leading men in thoſe ſeveral ſtates, and engage their ſuffrages for a war. Athens was the power he dreaded moſt, and which it was moſt apparently his intereſt to diſtreſs. But with all this, had not the Athenians deſtroyed themſelves by their domeſtic follies and ill-digeſted counſels; had they comported themſelves towards their allies with that humanity and gentleneſs which adorned the miniſtries of Ariſtides and Cimon; and had every individual of them with the ſteady regard of Themiſtocles fixed his eye on the public good; neither would the ambition of Sparta, nor the jealouſy of Corinth, neither the Bœotian hatred, nor the Perſian gifts, have availed aught againſt them.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

THE war in Greece began by an attempt on Platææ. The Thebans endeavoured to ſurpriſe this city, the deſtruction of which they had long ſince coveted, becauſe the behaviour of the Platæans in the Perſian invaſion was a reproach to their own, and they felt themſelves degraded by the ſignal honours decreed to Platææ by the general voice of Greece. The opportunity was now favourable: their cloſe amity with the Athenians offered a plauſible pretence; and certain of the Platæans themſelves, moved by ſome private diſcontent, had promiſed their aſſiſtance. A party of the Thebans therefore entered Platææ by night: but the citizens running to arms, and defending themſelves with great reſolution, diſappointed the project of the enemy, took ſeveral of them priſoners, whom they put to death, and obliged the reſt to conſult their ſafety by an ignominious flight. This happened the firſt year of the eighty ſeventh Olympiad, and the fifteenth year of the peace concluded between Athens and Sparta. As ſoon as the Athenians had advice of this enterpriſe, troops were ſent to protect thoſe of Platææ, and to remove their women and children to Athens.

Bef Chriſt 431.

THE indignation which it was natural for the Athenians to feel at an attempt ſo ungenerous, and the concern they expreſſed for their antient allies, were ſo far from producing ſimilar emotions in the breaſts of the Spartans and their friends, that they were conſtrued into inſults, and orders were given to the Spartan king Archidamus forthwith to invade Attica. It has been mentioned already, how averſe from the beginning this prince had been to violent meaſures, and with what earneſtneſs he had laboured to diſſuade his countrymen from an open rupture with Athens. He had ſtill the ſame unabated zeal for the proſperity of Greece; in which

which ſpirit, before he would commit hoſtilities, he diſpatched a meſſenger to try whether a negociation could be ſet on foot, by which this deſtructive war might be prevented. But Pericles preferred the intereſts of his ambition to thoſe of his country, and even refuſed audience to the Spartan. It is ſaid, that this meſſenger, when he came to the limits of Attica, to which he was conducted by certain perſons appointed ſpecially by Pericles to the end that no man ſhould confer with him, uttered theſe remarkable words, 'This 'day is the beginning of many ſorrows to the 'Grecians.' Archidamus with the forces under him, amounting to ſixty thouſand men, immediately on the return of his meſſenger, marched on towards the Attic frontiers.

AN enemy ſo formidable Pericles did not think it prudent to encounter in the open field. Even a victory muſt have thinned his numbers, already but inconſiderable; and if he loſt a battle, it was probable moſt of the confederates of the Athenian people would fall away from them. He acted therefore with better policy, by obliging all the inhabitants of the villages to retire within the walls of Athens, and ſending off the moſt valuable of their effects, and their cattle, to the iſland of Eubœa. Archidamus finding no reſiſtance, employed his forces in laying waſte all the noble improvements and fair villas, with which ſo many years of opulence and peace had adorned Attica. The lands of Pericles only were left untouched, and that by the command of the Spartan general, who wiſhed by ſuch a proceeding to bring into queſtion the faith of Pericles, and undermine the credit of that powerful ſtateſman. But Archidamus had an opponent too wary to be overcome by artifice; his ſtratagem was immediately ſeen

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. through, and explained to the assembly by Pericles, who took off the effect of it entirely by giving up the estate in question to the people. He had occasion indeed for every exertion of prudence to maintain his influence with his countrymen, who beheld with no little impatience the havock to which this invasion exposed them. Fifty years had now elapsed, since Attica had felt the waste of war; and they who had so long been accustomed to security and ease, could but ill brook these domestic calamities, the flight of their families, the ravaging of their lands, the ruin of their costly seats. Besides, the city could with difficulty contain the multitudes that had crouded into it; not only the porticoes, but even the streets and temples were filled with numbers that had fled from before the enemy: so that the wretchedness of the prospect from without was heightened by the distress within. In circumstances such as these, by a people noted for a poignancy of expression equal to their feelings, it is easy to judge how little Pericles was spared, the minister who remained seemingly an idle spectator of all this misery, while the Spartans were suffered to range about triumphant and unmolested.

IT was not long however, before the opportunity which Pericles waited for presented itself. He had got ready a fleet of an hundred sail; and when the enemy, after much depredation committed, were preparing to return homeward, vain of their success, and vaunting themselves in the inactivity of the Athenians, he ordered his gallies to the Peloponnesian coast, there to spread terror and desolation as extensively as possible. This spirited retaliation on the Spartans for the mischiefs they had wrought to Attica justified Pericles in the opinion of his people. Other vigorous exertions

tions preſently followed. A ſecond fleet was ſent into the Eubœan ſtreights, and the coaſts of Opuntian Locris were laid waſte. Ægina was attacked, all the inhabitants were ejected, and their lands aſſigned to a colony of Athenians. The Megareans were the next that felt the ſtorm, whoſe country was given up to pillage. And to the brilliancy of military expeditions other arts were added by Pericles, not leſs effectual for invigorating the Athenian ſpirit. When the campaign for the year was over, obſequies were celebrated, like thoſe deſcribed above on the reduction of Samos, in honour of ſuch as had fallen in the war. Nothing was omitted, which might add to the dignity of this ſolemnity. The reader may be curious to learn the form of it, as given us by Thucydides.

For the ſpace of three days the bones of the dead were laid out in a pavilion prepared for the purpoſe, during which time flowers, rich perfumes, and various offerings were ſtrewed over them. On the day of burial, they were removed into cypreſs coffins, one belonging to each tribe, and carried along in hearſes with much awful pomp to the Ceramicum, the faireſt of the Athenian ſuburbs; for here, in a public monument, it was the cuſtom to depoſite the bones of thoſe who had died in the defence of their country. The whole city, from the higheſt rank to the loweſt, attended the proceſſion, and being arrived at the place of interment, liſtened to a commemorative oration pronounced by ſome perſon, whoſe quality and known abilities rendered him worthy of the important office. On this occaſion the charge was aſſigned to Pericles. We have ſaid, he was the moſt powerful ſpeaker of his time: but on this day he exceeded every diſplay

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

he had before made of himſelf, to that degree, that entranced with his eloquence the Athenians forgot all their calamities, and found matter of exultation and triumph in the ſlaughter of their brethren, their kindred, their friends. So admirably did this maſter politician know how to touch the fineſt keys of the ſoul, that a people, in delicacy of taſte unrivalled by any other that ever exiſted, were not proof againſt his faſcinating powers of perſuaſion.

IF the plan laid down by Pericles, of abandoning the country to the ravages of the enemy, rather than hazard the lives of his ſoldiers, was the reſult of juſt policy in the firſt campaign, it became more evidently conſiſtent with prudence the next ſummer, when the Spartans returned to Attica, becauſe to the horrors of war was then added another evil far more dreadful. A peſtilence, which beginning in Ethiopia had made its way through Egypt and moſt parts of Aſia, reached Athens, and there, aſſiſted by a fatal combination of cauſes, it ſoon roſe to ſuch a height as to baffle all remedies. For, in the firſt place, it was a ſultry ſeaſon, and the weather remarkably cloſe and ſuffocating: then the city was crouded with inhabitants, moſt of whom, accuſtomed to breathe the free rural air, were now confined in narrow unhealthy habitations: the waters, beſides, were corrupted; the proviſions ſcanty and indifferent. All theſe things adding ſtrength to the infection, never was there deeper miſery, than this wretched city now experienced. Numbers, as they paſſed along, tumbled one upon the other: the public ways, the porticoes, the very temples, were filled with the dying and the dead: a putrid vapour exhaled from the dead bodies, and poiſoned all that approached them.

Bef. Chriſt 430.

The

The offices of humanity were intermitted: the master was avoided by his domeſtics, the parent left forlorn by children, the friend forſaken by his friend; and if any, more compaſſionate, indulged the tender ſervice, they ſoon caught the infection, and periſhed. The virulence alſo of the diſtemper was moſt uncommon. They whom it ſeized, not only were racked with the acuteſt pains; they laboured moreover under a dejection of mind, which took away all ſoundneſs of judgment, nor ceaſed till after ſome days they expired in horror and extreme anguiſh: and of thoſe who ſurvived, ſcarcely were there any that had not ſome of their limbs diſabled, and their underſtandings impaired, the diſorder frequently leaving ſuch a tincture of its malignancy behind, as entirely to efface the traces and memory of all former occurrences. BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

It was on this occaſion, that the famed Hippocrates came to Athens. This excellent perſon was a native of the iſland of Cos, and for his ſuperior knowlege in medicine obtained, and has left to poſterity, a name that will never die. Artaxerxes, when the plague firſt viſited his dominions, ſent an invitation to him to paſs over to the Perſian court, with promiſes equally flattering to his reputation and intereſt. But the generous Grecian, to whom recompences ſuch as theſe were of little price, made anſwer, 'that he owed 'his ſervices to his country, and not to barbarians, 'the avowed enemies of Greece.' Stung with this refuſal, the Perſian monarch paſſed from the language of temptation to outrageous menaces, which met with as little ſucceſs. Mean time application was made to Hippocrates on the part of Athens, who, as ſoon as he heard of the diſtreſſes of that city, the favourite ſeat of ſcience and arts, made

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

made haſte to its relief. It would be difficult to do juſtice to the ſignal humanity and affection with which he exerted his ſkill in favour of this afflicted people: he ſpared no labour; he omitted no office; neither the deadly air, nor the diſguſting circumſtances of the infected, diſcouraged him. And to diffuſe more widely the beneficial effects of his art, many perſons inſtructed by him in the means the moſt likely to reſtore the public health were diſperſed through the different quarters of the city. The Athenians felt what a bleſſing are great abilities, when employed for ſuch glorious purpoſes, and they ſhewed themſelves not inſenſible of the benefit. Hippocrates was made a denizen of Athens, an honour ſometimes refuſed even to princes; a golden crown was beſtowed on him, and a penſion for life; and it was decreed, that from that time forward all the natives of the iſland which had given birth to a man ſo great and good ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges as if Athenians born. Two years however elapſed, before Hippocrates with his utmoſt efforts had reſtored the public health.

THE adverſaries of Athens were in no condition to avail themſelves of the calamity that hung over that city, being urged by the dread of the contagion to haſten homeward. Pericles nevertheleſs continued earneſt in the proſecution of the war: amidſt all theſe domeſtic ſufferings was he buſied in martial preparations, probably with a view to divert the attention of the people from the numerous ills then incumbent on them. He had equipped a large fleet, with which he ſailed to Epidaurus; but the ſickneſs that waſted his men, forced him to return in a ſhort time. Recruits alſo were ſent to the army before Potidæa, and to as little purpoſe; for inſtead of encreaſing

their

their numbers, they communicated the infection to the camp, ſo that in the ſpace of forty days they loſt upwards of a thouſand men.

THE weight of ſo many misfortunes becoming at length intolerable to the Athenians, it was reſolved to ſend embaſſadors to Sparta to ſue for peace. But that inflexible people had neither generoſity nor wiſdom ſufficient to embrace the opportunity of compoſing the troubles of Greece: the utter ruin of envied Athens was their object, and this proof of her depreſſion was matter of triumph to them. Inſulted in their diſtreſs, the Athenians turned their vengeance on the adviſers of this ruinous war, and Pericles was called to an account. His eloquence, hitherto always victorious, now proved too weak againſt the rage of a diſtracted people: he was deprived of his honours, and amerced fifty talents. The removal of this miniſter however had no effect in reſtoring Athens to her proſperity: the peſtilence was not yet abated, and the waſting war ſtill continued.

THE ſurrender of Potidæa, which happened towards the end of this year, came opportunely to relieve the drooping ſpirits of the Athenians. The Potidæans had ſuffered themſelves to be reduced even to the extremity of eating one the other, in expectation of ſuccours from Sparta; but no ſuccours appearing, they at laſt offered to ſubmit on certain honourable conditions, which were readily granted them by the Athenian commanders, well pleaſed to put an end to a ſiege that had been attended with ſo much expence of men and treaſure. Before this city was taken, there happened an incident, which marks ſtrongly how inveterate was the enmity between the Athenians and Spartans. Theſe laſt had ſent embaſſadors to Artaxerxes, to ſolicit a ſupply of

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

money for carrying on the war, with inſtructions likewiſe to make their way through Thrace, and to ſound the diſpoſition of Sitalces, a prince in alliance with the Athenians, and endeavour to draw him off from their intereſts. There were at the ſame time embaſſadors from Athens reſident at the court of Sitalces, who having found what the views of the Spartans were, obtained that they ſhould be delivered into their hands, and ſent them to Athens, where, without even being permitted to ſpeak in their defence, they were immediately put to death, and their bodies were denied the rites of ſepulture. Such were the unnatural ſentiments this inteſtine war inſpired! The Athenians had loſt their humanity, and the Spartans had forgot their independence: that high ſpirit, which in the days of Leonidas had bid defiance to all the powers of Perſia, was now exchanged for a fawning ſervility towards the Perſian king, and a readineſs to ſhare his bounty.

IT might have been expected, that the Athenians, exhauſted as they were by the tedious ſiege of Potidæa, as well as weakened by their domeſtic ſcourge, ſhould have contained themſelves this year at home: nevertheleſs it appears, that ere the ſeaſon for action was part, they engaged in new expeditions in divers parts of Greece. They ſent a fleet into the Criſſean gulph, to block up the Corinthians. They had alſo an army in Acarnania to chaſtiſe the Ambraciots, who had attacked the Acarnanians, the allies of Athens. But theſe and the like incidental operations are not of moment enough to detain the reader's attention from the principal events of the war.

Bef. Chriſt 429. AT the beginning of the third year was formed the memorable ſiege of Platææ. Archidamus marched againſt it at the head of a powerful army.

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In vain did that excellent people remonſtrate againſt the injuſtice of compelling them to quit their neutrality: 'they had been proclaimed a 'free people by Pauſanias the Lacedemonian; 'the ſacrifices to be offered for the common 'proſperity of Greece had been entruſted to 'them; their very territories had been declared 'ſacred to liberty.' But theſe were feeble arguments to a ſoldiery fired with civil rage, and who ſaw victory courting them on. Accordingly Archidamus made anſwer, 'that they were not to ex-'pect mercy, except they would renounce all 'confederacy with the Athenians, and give up 'their city with all its poſſeſſions to Sparta till the 'war ſhould be at an end.' Conditions ſo degrading the ſpirited generous Platæans never could ſubmit to: they looked on Athens as the patroneſs of their liberties; they had been inſeparably joined with her through all the dangers of the preceding war; and now were they determined to ſtand or fall with her. Of this reſolution they appriſed the Athenians by meſſengers, deſiring aſſiſtance, which was promiſed them, and every encouragement given to defend themſelves to the utmoſt. When the Spartans found the people of Platææ immoveable in their attachment to Athens, they reſolved to ſignalize their vengeance againſt them, and earneſtly preſſed on the ſiege, attempting even to reduce the city to aſhes. The beſieged on their part fought with dauntleſs reſolution, and met their antagoniſts with ſo much vigour in every enterpriſe, that Archidamus, ſeeing winter approach, changed the ſiege into a blockade, and having left ſome troops to guard the lines, returned to Sparta.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

We have ſeen the great abilities of Pericles rendered uſeleſs to his country by a raſh ſentence, the dictate of reſentment: we have ſeen him purſued, mulcted, condemned to that which his ſoul of all things hated moſt, to a life of diſgrace and obſcurity. And yet was this ruin of his public eſtate light in compariſon of the domeſtic calamities that overtook him. His eldeſt ſon Xanthippus was carried off by the plague, which ſtill ravaged Athens. However, the loſs of him was not much to be deplored. He was an ill diſpoſed young man, who had long ſince thrown off the band of filial duty, and was wont to treat even his father with great inſolence, becauſe he would not furniſh means to his vicious exceſſes. But after him, the reſt of Pericles' family felt alſo the violence of the diſtemper: he loſt his ſiſter, his relations, his friends; and laſt of all, his ſon Paralus died alſo, a youth of great hopes, and the only one that remained to him of all his legitimate iſſue. Hitherto Pericles had borne all his adverſities with wonderous firmneſs; for he was a man that affected unconcern under the ſevereſt ills: but this laſt ſhock triumphed over his boaſted reſolution, and forced him to confeſs the feelings of human nature; inſomuch that, when he attended the obſequies of this darling ſon, and was, according to cuſtom, to crown the pale corpſe with a chaplet, in the midſt of the ſolemnity he burſt out into a flood of tears, and poured forth the bittereſt lamentations.

So affecting a reverſe of fortune melted the very enemies of this great perſonage, and changed their reſentment into compaſſion. Alcibiades adviſed him not to let paſs the friendly occaſion, but to engage again in public life, as the moſt effectual means of diſſipating the griefs that hung over

over him. Pericles tried the experiment, and began to frequent the aſſemblies of the people, who on their part became as urgent to ſet him once more at the helm of affairs, as they had been before to remove him. The firſt proof they gave of returning good will to their miniſter, was to abrogate an edict, which Pericles himſelf had made to the prejudice of illegitimate children. We have related, that in the days of his proſperity, in order to indulge his diſlike to the houſe of Cimon, he had procured a law, by which all perſons, not of Athenian blood by both parents, were declared aliens; and how heavy this had fallen on many families. It is worth obſerving, what a warning is here to the arrogance of man. Pericles was now obliged to ſolicit the repeal of a law, which left him childleſs; and by the ſuffrages of the people leave was given him to inroll among the citizens of his tribe a ſon, whom he had by a ſtrange woman.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

Soon after, Pericles himſelf died of the plague. It was obſerved, that this fatal diſtemper deſtroyed him in a manner different from all others; it was not a ſickneſs of a few days, but conſumed him by a gradual, lingering decay. Plutarch alſo tells us, that as it preyed upon his body, ſo likewiſe were the powers of his mind waſted by it, this intrepid general and ſubtil ſtateſman being at length transformed into a weak, childiſh bigot, hung round with amulets, and ſeeking relief from charms, of which in his lucid intervals he appeared himſelf to be aſhamed. One remarkable circumſtance however of his laſt moments is preſerved by the ſame writer, which preſents a flaſh of intellect burning brighter juſt before extinction. As he was drawing near his end, his friends, who aſſiſted round his bed, were employed in numbering

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. king up the many glorious events of his life, the honours he had enjoyed, and the victories he had won: 'Strange,' ſaid the dying man, raiſing himſelf on a ſudden, 'that you ſhould praiſe me 'for things in which fortune had ſo large a ſhare, 'things which many others have in common with 'me; and that you ſhould forget that which has 'been my peculiar happineſs, and which I have 'by far the greateſt reaſon to glory in—*never did* '*I give an Athenian cauſe to put on mourning!*'

UNDOUBTEDLY, few men have made a ſoberer uſe of power, than did this eminent ſtateſman. He had no ſhare of that ſuſpicious cruelty, from which tyrants uſually ſeek their protection: the only inſtruments he employed to ſupport himſelf were his courteouſneſs, his elegance, his power of perſuaſion, by which he eſtabliſhed an empire over the minds of a free people, ſuperior by far to any that ever was founded on coercion. Yet is he not to be held up to the reader as an object of real eſteem. Amiable as he appears in private life, and ſplendid as were his abilities, it is nevertheleſs certain, that this very man urged on the ruin of a great commonwealth; that he broke the manners of the people by the introduction of luxury; that he alienated the affection of the allies, by laviſhing away the common treaſure in advancing the pride and ornament of one city; what is yet worſe, that he weakened, from ſelfiſh motives, the authority of the awful court of Areopagus, thus giving up the machine of government to the conduct of the impetuous giddy multitude; finally, that, rather than part with his power, he involved his country in a war of Grecians with Grecians, impelling a people, who were to be preſerved free only by being united, to diſcord and mutual debilitation. That, in ſpite

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of theſe uncontrovertible facts, we ſhould find a man like Pericles extolled by ſeveral Grecian writers, is ſurely not matter of wonder. Is it ſurpriſing, that they eſpecially who lived near his times, ſhould have ſpoken of him with admiration? The magnificence and ſplendor, to which Athens had been advanced by him; his perſonal qualities, his moderation, his contempt of wealth, his munificent encouragement of the arts, his readineſs to reward, his diſcernment in rewarding; his endowments, ſo bright, ſo various; the philoſopher, the ſtateſman, the orator, the general, combining in him—all theſe contributed to diffuſe a glory around this conſpicuous perſonage. It was impoſſible to behold him in a light ſo advantageous, without admiring him. Then let it be conſidered, what kind of generals and ſtateſmen ſucceeded, when he was no more. Is it ſtrange, that Pericles ſhould be praiſed and lamented, when compared with men like theſe? who, however they might equal him in ambition, had few of them his integrity, ſcarcely any of them his abilities, not one of them his abilities and integrity united: ſo that, the faults he committed being continued and rendered more dangerous by the vices and imbecillity of thoſe who came after, the deſtruction of the ſtate ſeemed not ſo much owing to the meaſures introduced by Pericles, as to his not being alive to give them effect.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

THE perſons we have in view, on whom now devolved the principal management of affairs whether civil or military, were Nicias, Cleon, Diodotus, Demoſthenes, Paches, Lamachus; all of them in capacity far inferior to Pericles: we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve the particular talents of moſt of them, as we go on. But a character now alſo came forward, that was thought

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BOOK VII. Sect. 2. to bear a ſtronger reſemblance than any other to the deceaſed miniſter, and to be the moſt likely to fix the public attention. Alcibiades, a young man of an aſpiring ſoul and excellent endowments, to the advantages of noble birth and an immenſe fortune added a grace and lovelineſs of form hardly to be equalled. Beſides, he was nearly related to Pericles, and had been, as we intimated already, brought up under his roof. More than this, he had the happineſs of being known to the great Socrates, who loved him affectionately, and had employed his utmoſt care to render the qualifications of this young nobleman of real uſe to the common weal. We ſhall ſee, how theſe fair appearances were all darkened by his inconſiderate purſuits and impetuous paſſions, and had their end in the ruin of himſelf and the miſery of his country.

Bef. Chriſt 428. THE year after the death of Pericles, the Spartans, encouraged probably by that event, and ſeeing the plague abated, entered Attica again under the conduct of king Archidamus, where they committed great ravages, cutting down and deſtroying even the green corn, and making deſolate every place that had the appearance of culture. This year alſo, the inhabitants of Leſbos, thoſe of Methymna excepted, formed the reſolution of revolting from the Athenians. Leſbos, a large and fertile iſland in the Ægean ſea, was adorned with ſeveral wealthy cities: its people were of Æolian extraction; between whom and the Athenians an alliance had ſubſiſted, from what time the Grecian iſlands had thrown off the yoke of Sparta in the days of Pauſanias. But now the afflicted condition of Athens, together with the ſolicitations of her adverſaries, tempted them from their faith; of which as ſoon as the Athenians had advice

vice from their friends at Methymna, they order- BOOK
ed Paches with a fleet of forty gallies immediately VII.
to lay ſiege to Mitylene, the capital of the iſland. Sect. 2.
This activity obliged the Mityleneans to ſue for a truce. Repulſed in their petition, their embaſſadors applied to Sparta, whence at the deſire of the Spartans they went on to Olympia, to be preſent at the ſolemnity of the games, which this year happened to be celebrated. There, in the general aſſembly of the eſtates of Greece, the Leſbians ſet forth the many cauſes they had of complaint againſt the Athenian people, their injuſtice, cruelty, inſidiouſneſs; and in the moſt earneſt manner implored the convened powers to pity and aſſiſt them. Such an application, ſupported by the Lacedemonian intereſt, could hardly miſs of its effect: it was reſolved to ſuccour Mitylene, and to attack the Athenians by ſea and land.

THE Athenians were not diſmayed. They reinforced the army before Mitylene; they appointed a fleet of an hundred gallies to guard Attica, and ordered another of equal ſtrength to infeſt the coaſts of Peloponneſus. In the mean time the Spartans, after expecting in vain the arrival of the allied troops which were to join them at the Iſthmus, were obliged to haſten home to the defence of their own territories. They reſumed their Bef. Chr.
hoſtilities, however, early the next ſpring, by 427.
invading Attica: at the ſame time forty-two ſhips were ſent to the relief of Mitylene. But the ſhips did little ſervice; for Paches met them out at ſea, and chaſed them far away from Leſbos. Diſappointed of theſe ſuccours, the Mityleneans were reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting; when the only conditions they could obtain were, that the inhabitants ſhould not be proceeded againſt, till the Athenian people had determined concerning them.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

them. Accordingly a meſſenger was diſpatched to Athens, together with ſome of the chief of the Mityleneans, and Salæthus embaſſador from Sparta, who had ſtolen ſecretly into Mitylene, and was found in it when it was taken. The Athenians had been greatly incenſed at the revolt of Leſbos; and on this occaſion their reſentment was ſo wound up by the violent ſpeeches of Cleon, that they paſſed a ſevere decree, by which Salæthus was ordered to execution, and inſtructions were ſent to Paches to put to death all the men of Mitylene, and ſell the women and children for ſlaves. The day following, the Athenians began to repent them of their extreme ſeverity: a new aſſembly was convoked, in which Diodotus, a man of coolneſs and reflection, who had before oppoſed Cleon, pleaded ſo forcibly in behalf of the Mityleneans, that he procured a mitigation of the dreadful ſentence. No time was to be loſt; for a galley had ſet out the preceding evening for Mitylene, carrying orders for a general maſſacre. Another galley was now diſpatched, with large promiſes to the rowers, in caſe they arrived ſoon enough to ſave the Mityleneans. Nevertheleſs the bloody decree arrived firſt, and had certainly taken place, had it not been for the humane general, who read it with the deepeſt concern, and allowed the unhappy people one day's reſpite. In this dreadful ſituation were they, all hope excluded, and nothing but wailing and lamentation to be heard throughout the city, when the ſecond veſſel entered the port. Immediately the joyous news ſpread abroad, and the people were called together to have the ſentence of mercy pronounced to them. It was a ſentence, however, qualified with ſufficient rigour: all thoſe who had been leaders in the revolt, were put to death; the

the walls of the city were levelled with the ground; and a diſtribution was made of all the lands of the Mityleneans among Athenian citizens, the ancient proprietors being only permitted to hold them at a certain rent. Theſe laſt efforts almoſt emptied the treaſury of the Athenians, as that people found to their coſt, being thenceforth obliged to tax themſelves for the ſupport of the war. BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

THE ſucceſs at Mitylene was balanced by the loſs of Platææ, which was taken this ſummer, after a ſiege of near two years. All this time had that brave people defended themſelves againſt a force infinitely ſuperior; and for many months had the city been blocked up with all the ſtrength of walls and mounds by the beſiegers. The preceding winter, about two hundred and twenty of the beſieged had formed the reſolution to force their way through the enemies works, and by dint of extraordinary valour had ſucceeded in their enterpriſe, two hundred and twelve of the party eſcaping to Athens. This obliged the confederates to keep a ſtricter watch; ſo that the unhappy Platæans, preſſed with every kind of want, and ſeeing no proſpect of deliverance, agreed to ſurrender, on condition that they ſhould be admitted to a fair trial. Their requeſt was complied with, and commiſſioners were ſent from Sparta to enquire into and decide upon their conduct. All this carried a ſhew of equity, from which ſome hope might have been conceived that the Spartans would liſten to the dictates of mercy: but it was a vain parade, and already was the ruin of the Platæans reſolved on. The commiſſioners examined them only to a ſingle point, 'What 'ſervices they had performed for Sparta and her 'allies, in the courſe of this war?' The priſoners,

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. instead of answering this captious question whose tendency was obvious, attempted to soften their judges, by representing to them, 'What the 'Platæans had ever been; their zeal for the pros-'perity of Greece; the noble stand they had 'made in defence of liberty. Ye yourselves,' said they, 'have a near interest in the preserva-'tion of this state; and if our country is laid in 'ruins, the monuments of your fame, the se-'pulchres of your ancestors, of those brave men 'who fell on the day of Platææ, the temples of 'the gods, the conservators of Greece, who 'crowned our arms with victory, must also be 'laid in ruins.' They were suffered to say on without interruption; and when they had made an end of speaking, the same question was again put to each of them singly, 'What services they 'had performed to Sparta and her allies, in the 'course of this war?' They every one of them returned the same answer, 'No services,' and were dispatched instantly. Thus did the Spartans basely sacrifice this excellent people to the envy and resentment of their Theban confederates. There were slain on this occasion two hundred Bef. Chriſt 426. Platæans, and twenty-five Athenians: the women and children, found in the place, were all condemned to slavery. The city itself was razed by the Spartans, the year after, and continued in ruins, till Alexander the Great gave orders for rebuilding it, in honour to the memory of these champions for liberty.

THE want of land forces, sufficient both to guard Athens and to join battle with the confederates, was the reason why the Athenians did not march to the relief of this loyal city. They did what their strength permitted them. Their navies were sent out to infest the Peloponnesian coasts; and

and probably they expected, that these invasions would create a diversion in favour of the Plataeans, and force Sparta and her friends to abandon this tedious siege from respect to their own security. Yet they themselves had exhibited proof about this time, how easily a respect to security may be overborne by the prevalence of stronger passions, vanity having prompted them to engage in an expedition to Sicily, in the hope of reducing that distant island, whilst they were struggling with innumerable difficulties at home, their finances low, and the enemy in a manner at their gates. Indeed, as we have said, the conquest of Sicily had long since been their darling folly; and unluckily at this juncture an embassy from the Leontines opened anew the pleasing prospect. Sicily, it appears, was divided into two parties, the Doric, the most considerable of which were the wealthy Syracusans, and the Ionian, headed by those of Leontium. The latter, finding themselves inferior in strength, solicited aid from the Athenians, who gladly complied with the request, and sent immediately a fleet, and soon after a second, to support them. However, this expedition produced not any thing considerable. In the space of about two years, the Sicilians wisely made peace among themselves, and the Athenians, after much treasure expended, were obliged to quit Sicily. BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

In the midst of these adventurous attempts, Athens had an encrease of ills to struggle with. The Peloponnesian intrigues had excited a formidable insurrection in the island of Corcyra; so that the Athenians were in danger of losing the very people in whose quarrel they had taken up arms. At the beginning of the war, some of the principal men of Corcyra had been made prison-

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

ers, and ſent to Corinth, where inſtead of the ſevere uſage they expected, they were treated with much humanity, and after ſome years were reſtored to liberty. There was policy in this act of mercy. During their confinement theſe men had been won over to the cauſe of the allies, particular care having been taken to poſſeſs them with a hatred of democracy, and a deſire to change that form of government in their own country. The effect of their principles became but too manifeſt on their return home, when ſtrengthening themſelves with numbers, they fell on thoſe who were attached to the popular government, and barbarouſly butchered many of them. Soon as the Athenians received the tidings, a ſtrong force was detached to the aſſiſtance of their oppreſſed friends, which again turned the balance, and the Peloponneſian faction was purſued with the ſame relentleſs cruelty they had ſhewn to others: neither the reverence of years, nor the ties of affinity were attended to; even thoſe who fled to the altars, were dragged away from thence, and given up to the fury of the people. Thus was the ſtate rent aſunder by the violence of civil diſſenſion, and Corcyra drenched in the blood of her wretched ſons. The like tragic ſcenes we ſhall find acting over in moſt of the Grecian cities, the humane manners, the generous courage, which had been the glory of this nation, appearing in the courſe of this fatal war to have taken their flight for ever.

BESIDES foreign concerns, Athens had alſo her domeſtic misfortunes. The plague broke out afreſh with redoubled fury. Fourteen thouſand perſons were carried off by it; a prodigious loſs to a people, already thinned by ſuch frequent returns of the peſtilence, and ſix years of war. The

Bef. Chriſt 425.

ſucceeding

ſucceeding year, the Spartans were preparing to invade Attica, when, as if the whole *natural* conſtitution of Greece was convulſed as well as the *political*, ſuch dreadful earthquakes were felt almoſt in every part of it, that the affrighted Spartans haſtened homeward. BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

THE eighth year of the war opens with the appearance of the Spartan army on the territories of Athens, led on by Agis, ſon and ſucceſſor to Archidamus, and with the invaſion of Peloponneſus by the Athenian fleet, according to the plan laid down by Pericles. Demoſthenes, one of the admirals, deviſed a method of diſtreſſing the enemy on this occaſion, which ſucceeded to his wiſh. The Meſſenian Pylus, he obſerved, was a place of advantageous ſituation, which might afford the Athenians frequent opportunity of infeſting Laconia; therefore landing part of his troops, he poſſeſſed himſelf of it. Immediately the Spartans became ſenſible of the neceſſity of diſlodging him, for which purpoſe they poſted a choſen body of men in Sphacteria, a little iſland oppoſite to Pylus, and entering the Pylian harbour, gave battle to the Athenians. Demoſthenes was a brave man, and was defending himſelf gallantly, when in the heat of the engagement a ſquadron of forty Athenian ſhips appeared in the offing, to draw off the attention of the Lacedemonians from the land combat by attacking their veſſels: but theſe declining the conteſt, the Athenians boldly fell upon them in the very harbour, ſhattered and ſunk moſt of the Spartan fleet, and proceeded to lay ſiege to the iſland. We may judge of the conſternation into which this diſaſter threw the Spartans, when we are informed, that they ſubmitted to aſk a truce of Demoſthenes, and deputed an embaſſy to Athens to propoſe peace. But the Athenians always Bef. Chriſt 424.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. always elate and insolent in prosperity, instead of consulting the real good of their desolated country by restoring to it the blessings of peace, insisted on terms altogether unreasonable, and even treated the embassadors with insult. It was the clamorous, violent Cleon, that was again the adviser in this impolitic proceeding, to which the Athenians added an unpardonable breach of faith. When the truce was agreed on, the Spartans had given up their ships, on condition of receiving them back again, if the pacification did not take place. The Athenians made light of the promise, and refused to deliver them.

NEVERTHELESS, under all these disadvantages the Spartans carried on the siege of Pylus with great earnestness, at the same time omitting no means to supply their countrymen who were shut up in Sphacteria. The Athenians therefore began to have doubts of the success, the rather because, the winter drawing near, it was apprehended their fleet must soon be obliged to retire. These ill-boding appearances occasioned much murmuring among the people, and they now repented of their not having closed with the offers of Sparta. Cleon on the contrary insisted, that the blame lay in the remissness of their proceedings, and that if the new general whom they were now sending out would act with vigour, Sphacteria must surrender very shortly. This new general was Nicias: he made answer, 'that he would gladly resign the 'command to a person of Cleon's abilities; nor 'could that respectable character do his country 'a more important service, than by taking on 'himself the conduct of an expedition in which 'he thought he could atchieve such wonders.' The unexpected turn surprised Cleon, better accustomed to make shew of his courage in a popular

lar assembly than in the field of battle. The humour of the proposal, however, exactly suited the genius of an Athenian assembly, and accordingly they urged it on the orator with loud acclamations. Upon which Cleon, finding himself caught, had recourse to blustering, and declared, 'that he would not only accept of the command, 'but would moreover engage in twenty days to 'bring the Spartans in Sphacteria prisoners to 'Athens, or perish in the attempt.' This proud boast excited only laughter among the people, who looked as little for its accomplishment, as it is probable the reader will. And yet the event was much happier, than the abilities of such a general presaged.

THE character and fortune of Cleon being now at stake, the near prospect of danger sobered him. He began his operations with great prudence, seconded with so much spirit, that having in conjunction with Demosthenes made a descent on the island, he quickly reduced the Spartans to extremity, and summoned them to surrender. There were left of them only two hundred and ninety, who seeing no hope of safety but by submitting, accepted the terms offered them, and were all conducted prisoners to Athens within the time Cleon had mentioned.

THIS year died Artaxerxes, and was succeeded by his son Xerxes, who was soon after murdered by Sogdianus, his natural brother. Darius, another of Artaxerxes' spurious offspring, revenged the death of Xerxes, and ascended the throne of Persia: he is known in history by the name of Darius Nothus. By the demise of Artaxerxes a project came to nothing, which deserves however to be recorded, because it proves, how much the fury of civil war had extinguished in the breast of the

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. the Athenians alſo every elevated ſentiment, making that republic ſtoop to court the friendſhip of the common enemy, rather than not trample on the liberties of Greece. Certain Athenians, on their way to the Leſſer Aſia, where they had been commiſſioned to ſolicit money from the Grecian communities, met with Artaphernes, whom the Perſian monarch was ſending on an embaſſy to Sparta; and thinking it might be of ſpecial ſervice to their country, they had him arreſted, and tranſmitted to Athens. There the aſſembly releaſed him immediately, on finding, or pretending to find, that his commiſſion related to matters foreign to them, and at the ſame time thought the opportunity convenient for ſending embaſſadors to attend him back to Suſa, with a compliment in the name of the Athenian people to the Great King. But, as we have ſaid, this embaſſy was without effect; for the embaſſadors, receiving at Epheſus the account of Artaxerxes' death, proceeded no farther.

Bef. Chriſt 423. THE next year, the war continued to rage throughout Greece with unabated fury; and moſt of the Grecian ſtates, beſides their foreign dangers, had alſo dark plots and inſurrections at home to guard againſt. This was the caſe particularly among the Bœotians and them of Megara; thoſe in the intereſts of Athens conſpiring to introduce a republican government, and the favourers of Sparta contending for the ariſtocracy. Theſe conteſts brought on a battle near Delium, whither the Athenians had marched to ſupport their Bœotian friends, which terminated after a bloody ſtruggle to the diſadvantage of the Athenians; in conſequence, thoſe who had connection with them were obliged to forſake Bœotia. Socrates was preſent at this battle, where he diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed himſelf by his firm undaunted behaviour; and we have the teſtimony of Plato, that had all the Athenians fought like this philoſopher, they had doubtleſs obtained the victory. BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

THE Spartans had now ſhifted the ſcene of their hoſtilities from Attica principally to Thrace, which they made choice of on many accounts. They had received earneſt ſolicitations from thoſe parts, Perdiccas of Macedonia, and ſeveral of the Thracian nations, having made them large offers. Then this was a rich country, abounding in mines, the chief ſource of the Athenian wealth. Beſides, the Athenians held the iſland of Cythera near the promontory of Tænarus; by which, and by the poſſeſſion of Pylus, they ſo commanded Laconia, that it lay entirely open to their devaſtations. And yet the Spartans did not dare to make any diverſion into Attica, becauſe it had been decreed at Athens, that the priſoners taken in Sphacteria ſhould have their lives ſo long only, as the forces of Lacedemon ſhould abſtain from the Attic borders; and theſe priſoners were Spartans of the firſt diſtinction. The beſt reſource therefore that remained to them, was to carry the war into Thrace, a country, in the fate of which Athens was too deeply intereſted to be careleſs of its defence. Hiſtorians add another motive, which reflects indelible reproach on the Spartan name: the Helotæ were become formidable, and they ſought the occaſion of ſending abroad a number of them. Lately had two thouſand been taken off, whom their ſervices to the ſtate had rendered too conſiderable: and this diſtant war was looked upon as a convenient opportunity of ſacrificing more to the public jealouſy. It is really matter of ſurpriſe, that theſe ill treated men ſhould have kept any faith with ſuch mercileſs, ungrateful maſters.

THE

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

THE care of this expedition into Thrace was by the Spartans committed to Braſidas, a man of approved abilities and courage, and what was of equal moment, moderate in the exerciſe of power, and a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice towards the confederates; qualities which advanced his progreſs, not leſs than the force of arms. Acanthus, Stagira, and ſome other cities ſubmitted to him: and ſhortly after, he ſat down before Amphipolis, the moſt important place in thoſe parts, from whence the Athenians were moſtly ſupplied with ſhip timber, and in the neighbourhood of which were the gold mines. Already had the Athenians paid dear for this ſettlement by the loſs of two ſucceſſive colonies, entirely cut off by the neighbouring barbarians. We have noticed, that its name originally was *the Nine Ways*, changed for that of Amphipolis by Agnon, the leader of the laſt colony. The inhabitants immediately ſent advice of their danger to Thucydides, one of the Athenian generals, then in the iſland Thaſus. But before he could get thither, the city had ſurrendered to Braſidas, the beſieged being tempted by the advantageous terms he offered them; and all that Thucydides could do, was to provide for the ſecurity of Eion, in which were repoſited the naval ſtores of the Amphipolitans. Notwithſtanding, though he was entirely guiltleſs of the loſs of Amphipolis, the impatient Athenians condemned him to baniſhment. During this retirement from public buſineſs, he compoſed his hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, that immortal work, which ſpeaks its author poſſeſſed of all the finer talents of the ſtateſman, as well as a complete maſter of the military art.

BRASIDAS, not content with the reduction of Amphipolis, attempted ſeveral other places; and moſt

moſt of the cities on the Thracian coaſt were pre- BOOK
pared to open their gates to him, becauſe his de- VII.
claration to all was, 'that he was come thither Sect. 2.
'with no other view than to reſtore them to their
'liberties.' Diſtreſſed by this poſture of affairs, the Athenians felt themſelves inclined to agree to a truce, which the Spartans alſo long ſince wiſhed for: and indeed all that the war had produced to both was expence and weakneſs, the loſs of their braveſt men, and the devaſtation of their country. A truce therefore was concluded for one year, to the great joy of all the inhabitants of both ſtates, Braſidas and Cleon excepted. The former ſaw himſelf arreſted in a career of victory, which appeared to lie open to him; and Cleon, who loved tumult and confuſion, dreaded the inactivity to which the approaching peace muſt conſign him. However, Braſidas ſhewed not much regard to the truce: he was ignorant, or pretended ignorance, of its being concluded, and by his intrigues drew over many cities from the Athenians, even after the time appointed for its commencement. Cleon, on the other hand, moved the people to avenge thoſe wrongs with immediate war; and an army was ſent to reduce the places which Braſidas had perſuaded to revolt.

THE next year, the ill obſerved truce expired, Bef. Chriſt
and Cleon was choſen to command in Thrace. 422.
His ſucceſs at Sphacteria had added conſiderably to the natural inſolence of this man's temper, who now promiſed himſelf that no enemy would dare to look him in the face. Braſidas was no ſtranger to his character: he indulged the vanity of the giddy general, and affecting to retire before him, ſhut himſelf up in Amphipolis. This artifice proved the deſtruction of Cleon. He aſcribed the conduct of the Spartan to fear, and in defiance

of

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

of him made it his pride to march frequently under the very walls of the city, with his forces careleſs and in looſe array. Braſidas, waiting his opportunity, ſallied forth on a certain day when Cleon leaſt expected it, and charging his left wing, routed it without much difficulty: the right wing fought well, but at length was worſted alſo. This had been a uſeful victory to Sparta, had it not coſt her the life of the brave Braſidas. As for Cleon, that *bold* man fled, as ſoon as he ſaw danger approach him, and was ſlain by a common ſoldier.

A PEACE between the contending commonwealths was the conſequence of the deaths of their two champions. Nicias, of a temper leſs inclined to war, and unwilling to expoſe to hazard the good fortune that had hitherto attended him, laboured earneſtly, in conjunction with Pliſtoanax king of Sparta, to bring about an accommodation. Pliſtoanax, we have ſaid already, had been baniſhed. Nineteen years he remained in exile, till an oracle was drawn by ſubornation from the prieſteſs at Delphi, which commanded the Lacedemonians to recal him. His enemies ſuſpected the deceit, and failed not to repreſent every diſtreſs which the war occaſioned to Sparta, as a viſitation for this inſult offered to religion and the laws of their country. Hence did Pliſtoanax become a zealous advocate for the peace, which accordingly was concluded and ſworn to for fifty years, after the war had continued ten years complete.

Bef. Chriſt 421.

IT was not long however, before the gladdening proſpect, opened to Greece by this treaty, was again clouded over. In the firſt place, ſeveral of the Grecian ſtates objected to it, as a convention which threatened much danger to their common liberties:

liberties: for by one of the articles it was provided, 'that it ſhould be lawful to add unto, or 'take away from the ſame, whatſoever ſhould 'ſeem good to the Lacedemonians and Athenians;' and by a ſubſequent agreement Athens and Sparta engaged 'mutually to ſupport each other againſt 'all powers whatſoever.' On theſe accounts, a new confederacy was formed between the people of Argos, Mantinea, Elis, the Corinthians, and Bœotians. Neither was Sparta by any means careful to perform her part of the terms ſtipulated, one of the principal of which was, 'that all places 'and priſoners taken in the courſe of the war ſhould 'be reſtored:' ſome places, notwithſtanding, were not reſtored, and others were not delivered up till they had previouſly been diſmantled. Such manifeſt infractions provoked thoſe of Athens to continue their garriſon in Pylus: and the old animoſities began to revive between the rival ſtates.

In this ſituation of things, it was no difficult matter for Alcibiades, who now affected to take the lead in the public councils, by ripening the ſeeds of diſcontent to bring forward a war, which he believed to be the readieſt inſtrument for ſinking the credit of Nicias, and ſhewing himſelf to advantage. The endeavours of Socrates had not been wanting, as we have remarked already, to reſtrain this dangerous young man, who on his part did certainly reſpect his preceptor highly, and gladly liſtened to his inſtructions: but his natural vivacity, the torrent of his paſſions, the various diſſipations to which his riches expoſed him, the ſeduction of flatterers, ſoon effaced from the mind of Alcibiades the wholeſome leſſons of wiſdom; and ambition and the love of pleaſure took poſſeſſion of him entirely. He ſtands now upon record

Bef. Chriſt 420.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

an example of the melancholy truth, that thoſe very advantages, wit, eloquence, gracefulneſs of form, affluence of fortune, which might render men moſt amiable and praiſeworthy, contribute frequently, and in no ſmall degree, to make them miſerable.

THE firſt eſſay of Alcibiades in politics betrayed envy and deceitfulneſs. Nicias had been labouring to compoſe the differences between the two commonwealths; and embaſſadors from Sparta were actually in Athens with full powers to adjuſt all matters in diſpute: they had applied to him (for the peace was looked upon to be his work) and he had introduced them into the ſenate, where they had declared the purport of their embaſſy, and the extent of their commiſſion. Mortified by this preference ſhewn by the Spartans to Nicias, Alcibiades ſet himſelf to confound their meaſures; in which view, the night before they were to appear before the aſſembly of the people, the court of ultimate deciſion in matters of this nature, he invited the embaſſadors to his houſe, and there under the ſemblance of friendſhip he recommended it to them to be more ſparing of their offers on the morrow, particularly not to own what powers they were inveſted with, as that would tempt the people to impoſe on them many conditions hard and unreaſonable. The plauſible counſel pleaſed the ſimple men; ſo that, on the following day, when they were aſked in the General Aſſembly, whether they were empowered finally to ſettle all matters, they denied what they had before acknowledged in the Senate of Five Hundred. Great was the amazement of Nicias on this unexpected occaſion; but greater ſtill was that of the embaſſadors, when they heard the falſe Alcibiades reproach them with want of ſincerity, and charge

charge the Lacedemonians as a deſigning, faithleſs people, who one day affirmed what the next day they denied. This wicked artifice widened the breach between the two ſtates, both complaining highly of injuries; and ſhortly after, the Athenians, by the management of Alcibiades, concluded an alliance with the Argives, the Mantineans, and thoſe of Elis. In this manner, through the dark policy of one ambitious citizen, did Athens ſee herſelf plunged again into the miſeries of war.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

IN the fourth year of the eighty ninth Olympiad, which was the twelfth from the beginning of the war, military preparations were carried on through moſt parts of Greece, but no action enſued. Faint and languid after the many waſting toils they had endured, the Grecians ſhewed no longer that ſpirit which they had exerted at firſt. Neither did the three or four campaigns that followed produce any thing very remarkable. Their ſummers were moſtly ſpent in fruitleſs marches, or in forming intrigues in ſeveral ſtates, and bringing about revolutions in their municipal government. Thus Argos, it appears, in the ſpace of two years changed her political form not leſs than three times; and (dreadful to think!) every revolution was deeply marked with blood, the prevailing party ſignalizing its revenge by the moſt ſavage cruelties. The long uſe of war ſeems to have ſteeled their hearts againſt all the tender feelings of mercy; and we find ſeveral affecting inſtances upon record, that the Athenians themſelves were become bloody and relentleſs. One of theſe reſpects Scione, a city of Thrace. It had received Braſidas, but after the peace concluded with Sparta, fell again under the power of the Athenians, who, to puniſh the Scioneans for their defection, Def. Chriſt 419.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. defection, put to the ſword all the men without diſtinction, and condemned the women and children to ſervitude. Their treatment of the Melians was yet more barbarous. Melos was an iſland in the Egean ſea, which had always adhered to Sparta unalterably. In the ſixteenth year of the war, it was beſieged by a fleet from Athens, and after a gallant defence, the inhabitants were obliged to ſubmit at diſcretion. Here were no aggravating circumſtances to palliate the guilt of uncommon ſeverity: nevertheleſs the Athenians maſſacred all the Melians capable of bearing arms, and made ſlaves of the reſt. Time was, when ſuch brave men would have met with more kindneſs at the hands of the Athenian people. But what moſt of all proclaims how degenerate and inhuman the Athenians now were, is a reſolution, not ſuddenly made in the hurry and wrath of battle, but framed deliberately in the ſenate of Athens: it was decreed, that 'as many as they 'ſhould take alive in naval combat, ſhould have 'their right hands cut off.'

Bef. Chriſt 415.

Bef. Chriſt 414. THE year after the expedition to Melos, the war began to have a more important appearance, and to threaten many other nations beſides thoſe of Greece. The people of Egeſta, a city of Sicily, had ſent embaſſadors to Athens to ſolicit ſuccours againſt their neighbours of Selinus, who had attacked them in conjunction with the Syracuſans. It has been often remarked in the courſe of our narration, how deſirable the Athenians eſteemed the poſſeſſion of that fruitful iſland. Alcibiades alſo, fond of adventurous projects, laboured much to engage them in an expedition, the certain effects of which he aſſured them would be unlimited conqueſt, wealth, and glory. The treaſures of Sicily were but a poor reward for them to have in proſpect:

proſpect: they were from that beginning of ſucceſs to paſs over into Africa, and take Carthage; then Italy was to feel the power of their arms; till at length their empire ſhould extend itſelf over the whole world. Such were the wild dreams in which the aſpiring Alcibiades indulged himſelf; and with the ſame airy phantaſies did he contrive to fill the heads of his countrymen, his magnificent ſtyle of living, his largeſſes, his engaging eloquence, giving ſtrength and plauſibility to whatever he advanced: ſo that, in ſpite of the oppoſition of Nicias and the wiſeſt men of the ſtate, the enterpriſe was reſolved upon, and an army ordered immediately for Sicily. Nicias and Lamachus were joined in the command of this army with Alcibiades, probably at the inſtance of the ſoberer Athenians, in order to temper the violence of his daring ſpirit.

THE popularity however of this celebrated Athenian began to ebb, almoſt at the inſtant of its arriving at the flow; whether it were the effect of his own folly, or the contrivance of his enemies, hiſtorians ſeem to leave undecided. The Athenians were in all ages remarkable for the character which the apoſtle Paul aſcribes to them; they were extremely addicted to their religion, and held the many deities, with which the city abounded, in the higheſt reverence. It happened, when every thing was in readineſs for the departure of the fleet, that on a certain night all the ſtatues of Mercury throughout Athens were thrown down and disfigured. Moſt of the houſes had theſe ſtatues before them; and the report was, that ſome young men of quality, with Alcibiades at their head, had been guilty of the impiety, and that at the ſame time they had profaned the Eleuſinian rites, the moſt ſacred of the

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

Athenian myſteries. The diſſolute manners of Alcibiades, and the avowed levity with which he had always treated the religion of his country, rendered the accuſation credible. Nevertheleſs he was ſo dear to the ſoldiery, that it was thought the wiſeſt policy to defer the proſecution; and though Alcibiades inſiſted on an immediate trial, yet his enemies prevailed, and he was obliged to ſet out for Sicily.

HISTORIANS ſpeak highly of the pomp and expence of this equipment: it was, we are told, the moſt ſumptuous Athens had ever ſent forth. The gallies amounted to an hundred and forty in number, all completely furniſhed, and adorned in the richeſt manner. Beſides the naval forces, a conſiderable land army went aboard the tranſports, moſt of them choſen men, and many of them of the firſt families in Athens. The ſucceſs however by no means correſponded to the greatneſs of the preparation. The firſt exploits of the Athenians were inconſiderable: they found no encouragement on the coaſts of Italy, and in Sicily the only place they could make themſelves maſters of was Catana. This ſlow progreſs was partly owing to their unſteady counſels. Alcibiades and Lamachus were for active meaſures, whilſt the enemy was in conſternation: Nicias, on the contrary, diſpirited the army by his ill-timed apprehenſions, urging that they ſhould immediately abandon the deſign, becauſe the Egeſtans were not able to make good the large payments they had promiſed for the ſupport of the Athenian forces. But the moſt unlucky circumſtance attending this expedition was the recal of Alcibiades, the ſpirit that animated every enterpriſe, and the beſt beloved of the three commanders. No ſooner had the fleet ſailed, than his enemies began to ſtir up the ſuperſtitious

ſtitious populace, and to inflame them with reſentment againſt a man who had dared to ridicule the moſt awful ceremony of their religion. Theſe ſuggeſtions wrought ſo effectually, that the *Salaminian galley*, which was always employed on occaſions of this nature, was diſpatched for Alcibiades, and he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner; but the galley having put in at Thurium, he contrived to make his eſcape, and paſſing over to Elis, fled to Lacedemon.

FROM this time the care of the war devolved on two perſons, neither of whom was equal to the taſk: Nicias, ſlow and irreſolute, full of weak fears, and apt to interpret every intervening accident into an omen important and ſignificative; and Lamachus, a good officer, but without influence, being rendered contemptible by the narrowneſs of his fortune, a circumſtance which would have produced no ſuch effect in the days of Ariſtides, before affluence and pleaſures had corrupted the Athenian ſimplicity. At length the two generals, after ſome unimportant operations, ſat down before Syracuſe, which they beſieged by ſea and land. Syracuſe was a city of great wealth and power: it had long enjoyed a flouriſhing commerce, and its inhabitants and allies were numerous and expert in war. Nevertheleſs the Athenians carried on the ſiege with great ſucceſs; they had beaten the Syracuſans, their works were advancing conſiderably, and they had already got poſſeſſion of Epipolæ, an eminence which commanded the city. Embaſſadors therefore were deputed from the Syracuſans to their foundreſs Corinth, with directions to go on to Lacedemon to implore aſſiſtance, which both theſe ſtates readily promiſed, and Gylippus a Spartan officer was ordered to Syracuſe.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

MEAN time the affairs of the Syracuſans were become deſperate. Nicias had carried his works much cloſer to the city, and the Syracuſans finding themſelves extremely preſſed had ventured an engagement, in which, though they had the fortune to cut off Lamachus, they had on the whole ſucceeded ſo ill, that a great part of Sicily declared for the Athenians; ſo that it appeared impoſſible to ſave Syracuſe. In this juncture arrived Gylippus. It is highly probable, had Nicias marched out againſt him, there had been an end of the war; for the Lacedemonian was attended with a very ſmall party, having come to Sicily with four ſhips only. But Nicias, who from ſucceſs was become vain and boaſtful, remained within his lines, deſpiſing, as he ſaid, a man who with ſo inconſiderable a force conceived hopes of oppoſing his progreſs. This contempt coſt him dear. Gylippus made his way into the city, inſpired the Syracuſans with new vigour, and led them out againſt the enemy. He failed however in his firſt attempt: but with a candour, of which there are few examples, having laid the blame of the misfortune on the wrong diſpoſition he himſelf had made, he altered his arrangement, and in another attack the following day diſlodged the Athenians with great ſlaughter. The ſpirit of Nicias ſunk under this diſaſter: he diſpatched an expreſs to Athens, to demand a ſupply of men, and other generals to be ſent in place of himſelf, whoſe infirmities, he urged, rendered him unequal to the burden of an expedition ſo difficult and unpromiſing.

Bef. Chriſt 413.

THE enterpriſing genius of the Athenians was not to be damped by this account. On the contrary, they ordered immediately to Sicily a reinforcement of land forces, and a conſiderable fleet, under

under the command of Eurymedon, and of that Demoſthenes whoſe valour had ſo much diſtinguiſhed him at Pylus. Theſe two were joined in commiſſion with Nicias, who, till their arrival, was to ſhare his command with two officers already in the army, Menander and Euthydemon. BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

THE raſhneſs of this effort of the Athenian people will appear the more ſurpriſing, when we are informed, that a Lacedemonian army under the orders of king Agis was at this very time ravaging Attica. That prince had taken poſſeſſion of Decelea, a caſtle not far from Sunium, where he fixed a ſtrong garriſon, whoſe continual incurſions greatly annoyed the Athenians, ſo that they were forced to bring their proviſions round by ſea, at great expence and hazard. Till this period the enemy returned only after an interval of ſome months, and the Athenians enjoyed at leaſt their winters in peace: but, from the fortifying of Decelea, they were blocked up, and the campaign in a manner laſted throughout the year. Nevertheleſs the hopes of extending their conqueſts in Sicily blinded them to all dangers, and their ſtrength was wantonly conſumed away in a foreign war, whilſt their own country was waſted by a victorious enemy.

GYLIPPUS had loſt no part of the intervening time through want of exertion, being extremely active in ſoliciting ſuccours from many of the cities as well of Sicily as of Italy; by whoſe aid, and by the acceſſion of the ſhips from Corinth, finding himſelf in poſſeſſion of a ſtrong fleet, he determined to try his fortune in a naval engagement. This was a bold experiment againſt a people, eſteemed the moſt formidable at ſea of any in the known world: however, it was

the

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. the only way of ſaving Syracuſe. Gylippus ran the hazard, and though defeated, yet did he derive ſignal advantage from the battle; for his ſeamen were made acquainted with the Athenian manner, and he had the good fortune to deſtroy three forts, built by the Athenians at Plemmyrium, which commanded the entrance of the Syracuſan port. Soon after this, advice was brought him of the preparations at Athens, which determined him to venture a ſecond engagement at ſea, before Demoſthenes ſhould reach Sicily. In this the cautious Nicias would hardly have gratified him; but the new generals, Menander and Euthydemon, willing to have the honour of ſome exploit, earneſtly urged him to ſupport the glory of his country by accepting the enemy's challenge. A battle was the conſequence, in which Gylippus was victorious. The enſuing day, arrived the Athenian fleet with Demoſthenes and Eurymedon. This encreaſe of enemies extremely terrified the Syracuſans: they ſaw the war gathering new ſtrength againſt them, and the ſurmounting of one difficulty only opened the view to another. Under every diſcouragement Gylippus ſupported their ſinking hopes, ſeconding his counſels with ſo much energy of action, that Demoſthenes having attempted in the night to ſurpriſe the city by land was repulſed, and a great number of the Athenians ſlain.

So brave a reſiſtance would of itſelf have quenched the hopes of the beſiegers, if the plague had not alſo broken out among the Athenian troops; inſomuch that Demoſthenes himſelf was now of opinion, their only reſource was to haſten away from that fatal iſland. Nicias, after ſome difficulty, acceding to the meaſure, it was agreed to conceal, if poſſible, their deſign from the enemy.

But an accident prevented this. An eclipſe of the moon took place when the fleet was ready to ſail, which the awe-ſtruck Nicias interpreted according to his own ſuperſtition; the ſoothſayers alſo confirmed his fooliſh fears, and declared that the departure of the army muſt be deferred for three times nine days. The delay, as might have been expected, gave opportunity to the Syracuſans to diſcover what the Athenians intended; whereupon Gylippus, apprehenſive that ſo conſiderable an army (for the Athenian forces, after all the loſſes they had ſuſtained, were upwards of forty thouſand) might yet be able to effect ſomething of importance, ſet himſelf to prevent their eſcape. BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

THE Syracuſans, drawing out their troops, and at the ſame time manning all their gallies, commenced a general and vigorous attack upon the Athenians by ſea and land. The Athenians received them gallantly, but at length were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of their admiral Eurymedon, and according to Diodorus, of eighty ſhips of war and more than two thouſand men. Immediately on this ſucceſs, the Syracuſans blocked up the harbour's mouth with iron chains and a range of veſſels, through which the Athenians reſolved to force a paſſage at all hazards. They had yet remaining an hundred and fifteen gallies. On theſe they embarked the flower of their army, while the reſt of their men were drawn up on ſhore, to ſupport and encourage them. This firm countenance did not intimidate the Syracuſans: they fell upon their enemies with loud and dreadful cries, preſſing and purſuing them to the opening of the port, where as many as endeavoured to break through, ſtruck againſt the boom, and were driven back. And now did both parties

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

parties engage with incredible fury, the Athenians animated by deſpair, the Syracuſans by the deſire of revenge. Neither pity nor fear were liſtened to; no quarter was given, where a veſſel was boarded; and in the very agonies of death, and while they were ſinking into the boſom of the deep, numbers were ſeen exerting themſelves to wound and deſtroy their adverſaries. In the end, fortune declared entirely againſt the Athenians, who broken and ſpiritleſs quitted the fight, leaving behind them many of their braveſt men, and the greateſt part of their fleet; whilſt the ſhore reſounded with the ſhouts of the victorious Syracuſans.

NICIAS and Demoſthenes, diſtracted by their misfortunes, and ſcarcely knowing what courſe to take, determined to abandon the few ſhips that remained to them, and to make their way by land. And had they marched off that night, probably they might have eſcaped. But Hermocrates, the Syracuſan general, amuſed them with falſe intelligence: he employed perſons to give them notice, that an ambuſcade was prepared for them, by which, if they deferred not their march, they would certainly be intercepted. His object was to gain time for his wearied forces to refreſh themſelves after their late ſervice, particularly as it was the feſtival of Hercules, a day of great rejoicing in Syracuſe. The generals believed the deceitful report, and after two days ſet out with the army.

NOTHING could be more diſmal than this departure. Fallen from the ſummit of proſperity, the army of Athens were turning their backs on their enemy, diſgraced and vanquiſhed, thinned in their numbers, waſted by fruitleſs toils, compelled to abandon their fellow ſoldiers, whom their wounds would not permit to be moved, and who

who ſeeing themſelves given up to deſtruction, and cut off from the hope of ever beholding their country more, filled the air with affecting lamentations, or grieved the hearts of the by-ſtanders with the bitterneſs of reproach. The horrors of this deadful ſcene were alſo deepened to the retreating army by apprehenſions for their own ſafety. They had a long wearifome march to purſue through ways they were ſtrangers to, deprived of every conveniency, and expoſed to the malice of an exaſperated enemy. With theſe ill-boding thoughts they left the neighbourhood of Syracuſe; nor was it long before their fears were juſtified by the appearance of a body of the enemy, who hung upon their rear, and galled and harraſſed them without intermiſſion. For the ſpace of five days did they proceed in this diſtreſsful manner, ſtruggling through numberleſs difficulties, and winning every paſs at infinite hazard. On the morning of the ſixth day, Demoſthenes, who had in the night miſſed his route, found himſelf ſurrounded by the enemy, and was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, with about ſix thouſand men. Nicias was gone on with the bulk of the army; but, two days after, he alſo was encompaſſed at the river Aſinarus, and forced to ſurrender on the ſame terms as Demoſthenes, to ſave his unhappy men from immediate ſlaughter: for ſo reduced were they by exceſſive fatigue and want of neceſſaries, that they had not ſtrength remaining to defend themſelves againſt the mercileſs enemy.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

THE ſcene, that was next diſplayed, was yet more melancholy. The two generals were tried, and ſentenced to die, for having wantonly, and from wicked motives, made war on a people that never injured them. This ſevere deciſion was oppoſed

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

oppoſed by many, even by Gylippus himſelf, who was anxious to ſave Nicias particularly, a man reverenced by all for his exemplary virtues and diſtinguiſhed piety, and known to have always adviſed pacific meaſures. Notwithſtanding, they were both put to death. The reſt of the army were treated with not leſs rigour, excepting only that their lives were ſpared to them: they were condemned to a grievous and perpetual ſervitude, and moſt of them for a time were adjudged to work in the quarries, where they endured miſeries beyond deſcription. Report ſays, that the fate of the natives of Athens proved far happier than that of the other ſharers in misfortune, and that ſome of them were even reſtored to liberty, from reſpect to the excellent endowments with which their minds were enriched. Their maſters were exalted into rapture on hearing the ſublime compoſitions of the poets of Greece, eſpecially thoſe of Euripides, and could not forbear compaſſionating the fate of thoſe amiable captives. Such power have the lettered arts: they procured to their poſſeſſors favour and deliverance even in a hoſtile land.

WHEN the heavy tidings of this diſaſter were confirmed at Athens (for at firſt the ſtory was looked upon as incredible) the whole city was in confuſion. The golden dream of ambition was vaniſhed; their fleets were deſtroyed; their choſen men cut off by the ſword, or groaning in captivity; and their arms and equipments of war all in the hands of the enemy. Beſides, ruin threatened Athens itſelf from every ſide. Attica was deſolate, the Spartans had cantoned themſelves in the midſt of her; Eubœa, the other iſlands of the Egean, and the cities of Ionia were meditating a revolt; and the Perſian king

king had concluded an alliance with Lacedemon. BOOK VII.

PRESSING, however, and complicated as these difficulties were, the ſtate of Athens retained her accuſtomed dignity. It was reſolved to act with vigour, and to fit out other fleets. All the money, that remained in the treaſury, was applied to the neceſſities of the commonwealth; every ſuperfluous expence was retrenched; as many as were able to ſerve, offered themſelves; and even private grief ſeemed to be abſorbed in the concern for the public ſafety. What is moſt extraordinary, and a proof how far this ſpirited people might have gone, had they always retained their virtue, no ſooner was a fleet in readineſs, than it was ordered to Samos, to prevent the defection of the neighbouring iſlands. The nations around continued to dread them, low as their condition appeared to be. The cities of Greece were forming leagues againſt them; new allies were ſought; negotiations were carrying on both with Pharnabazus and Tiſſaphernes, ſatraps, the one of Lydia, the other of the parts near the Helleſpont; and on every ſide were the Lacedemonians ſoliciting aid, as if even now they diſtruſted their own ſtrength; whilſt Athens, like a lion at bay, ſeemed to defy theſe conſpiring powers, and made the iſſue queſtionable. Sect. 2.

ALCIBIADES had been a principal agent in all the meaſures concerted againſt his country, as long as he enjoyed the favour of Sparta, who followed his counſel, particularly, in the fortifying of Decelea. But after ſome time, he loſt alſo the confidence of the Spartans. He had injured king Agis in the moſt ſenſible manner. And it had been found, that the inſinuating arts he practiſed among them, and his affectation of the Bef. Chriſt 412.

Spartan

BOOK VII. Spartan frugality, were only the doublings of his ambition, to gain to himſelf regard and influence.

Sect. 2. His character and deportment in his own country have been already deſcribed: even among the Athenians, vicious as they then were, his profuſe and diſſolute life was a reproach to him. At Sparta he might have paſſed for one of the ſtricteſt diſciples of Lycurgus: his garb ſimple, his food coarſe, the roughest exerciſe ſeemed welcome to him, and not a Spartan could endure better the extremities of hunger and thirſt, of heat and cold. Yet was this nothing more than deceit and outward ſemblance; the heart was ſtill the ſame; and at this very time he was ſeducing the wife of Agis, his protector and friend. The injured prince coming to the knowledge of the intrigue, applies to the Ephori, by whom miſſives were ſent to Aſia, whither Alcibiades was gone to negotiate the Spartan affairs, with directions to put him to death. The deſign got wind, and Alcibiades took refuge at the court of Tiſſaphernes, where the ſame pliableneſs of manners ſo commended him to the favour of that Perſian lord, that his plotting genius found again the opportunity of exerting itſelf. Determined to be revenged on Sparta, he ſuggeſted to Tiſſaphernes, that it was not his intereſt to ſeek the preſent deſtruction of Athens, which would render Sparta too powerful; that his buſineſs was rather, by aſſiſting always the weaker ſtate, to make them conſume and ruin one the other. He likewiſe entertained a correſpondence with the army of Athens at Samos, promiſing to ſuccour and reinſtate his country in her former proſperity, if the popular government were once aboliſhed, and the public concerns committed to perſons whoſe ſteadineſs might be relied on. Reſentment againſt the ſuperſtitious populace, who were

were the chief promoters of his baniſhment, dictated this laſt condition, which yet he aſcribed to the unwillingneſs of Tiſſaphernes to truſt the people. It occaſioned much commotion at Athens. At length however a Council of *four hundred* was eſtabliſhed, who diſſolved the ſenate of the Prytanes, annulled the popular aſſembly, but preſerved ſtill the appearance of a democracy: for they choſe five thouſand perſons to be convened as occaſion required, and to debate on all matters in the name of the people. But here the wily politician found himſelf miſtaken in his counſels; for when the *four hundred* were once inveſted with power, they refuſed to recal a man of whoſe abilities they ſtood in awe: ſo that he was obliged to fall in with the views of the army at Samos, who elected him their general. BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 411.

ATHENS ſeems to have been now in a very diſtreſsful ſituation. Thoſe in power had loſt the affection of the people at home: abroad, the army was entirely againſt them. Eubœa, the iſland whence the Athenians drew moſt of their proviſions, was in the hands of the Peloponneſians. And a treaty was on foot between Agis and the Four hundred, to betray Athens to him. Mean while, the ſoldiers at Samos were inſtant to go to Athens, in order to eject the uſurpers by force of arms; which they had certainly executed, had not Alcibiades reſtrained them by repreſenting the imprudence of abandoning Ionia to the Spartans, and counſelling them rather to ſend deputies to Athens to demand the reſtoring of the antient government. This ſalutary advice preſerved the republic. The Four hundred were depoſed without tumult, and a decree was paſſed for the recalling of Alcibiades, of which nevertheleſs he did not immediately avail himſelf. Bef. Chriſt 410.

HIS

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 409.

His firſt care was to fix Tiſſaphernes in the Athenian intereſt, and to prevent the ſailing of the Phœnicians, who had received orders to join the Peloponneſian allies. Whilſt he was employed on this commiſſion, a part of the Athenian fleet had made towards the Helleſpont, in purſuit of Dorieus admiral of the Syracuſan gallies, and of Mindarus the Spartan. Alcibiades therefore, willing to ſignalize his revocation by ſome exploit, haſtened after them with about twenty ſhips, and coming up at the very time of the engagement, when the Lacedemonians leaſt expected it, joined his countrymen; which turned the fortune of the day entirely in their favour, notwithſtanding the efforts of Pharnabazus, who had marched down to the ſea ſhore to ſupport Mindarus. This ſucceſs had nigh proved fatal to the Athenian chief. In the pride of victory having ventured to ſhew himſelf to Tiſſaphernes, and affecting to diſplay before him the ſpoils he had taken, the Perſian, who had too much policy openly to avow the Athenians whilſt his maſter was in league with Sparta, commanded him to be ſeized, as a traitor to the Great King. He ſoon however found means to eſcape out of the hands of Tiſſaphernes, and went again in purſuit of the Lacedemonians.

Bef. Chriſt 408.

AT this time Mindarus lay with the Spartan fleet before Cyzicus, a city of Myſia; and at a ſmall diſtance from him was Pharnabazus encamped, with a powerful army. In ſpite of this formidable ſhew, Alcibiades reſolved to hazard a battle; accordingly, having ordered a body of his troops to land and attack Pharnabazus, he himſelf engaged the Spartans. The diſpute was ſharp and obſtinate: but in the end the Athenians prevailed on every ſide; the Perſians were routed, the Spartan fleet deſtroyed, and Mindarus

rus ſlain. Terrified at the defeat, Pharnabazus covenanted to concern himſelf no farther in the war againſt Athens. Even the Spartans were ſo humbled, that they condeſcended at this time to ſue for peace. But the Athenians, always inſolent in ſucceſs, proudly rejected all terms of accommodation, loſing by this imprudence an opportunity that never offered more. BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

AFTER rendering his country ſome other ſervices, Alcibiades, crowned with glory, returned to Athens, where he was received in triumph, amidſt the loudeſt acclamations. All the people crouded out to the Piræus to meet him; the holy heralds were ordered to change the execrations they had pronounced againſt him into ſolemn bleſſings; and the only ſtrife was, who ſhould pay the higheſt honours to the *deliverer of his country*. Yet here was the final cloſe of the proſperity of Alcibiades. After he had for ſome time enjoyed the exultations of his fellow citizens, he was called away from Athens by new diſturbances breaking out in ſome of the Grecian iſlands, and by the dangerous poſture likewiſe of the Athenian affairs in Aſia. Bef. Chriſt 407.

CYRUS, ſecond ſon to Darius Nothus, had been appointed governor of all the provinces of the Leſſer Aſia, being raiſed at the age of ſixteen years to this important poſt by the intrigues of his mother Paryſatis, who had it in her views to ſupplant his elder brother Artaxerxes, and to place him on the Perſian throne. Lyſander alſo had been ſent from Sparta to command in the room of Mindarus. This new admiral poſſeſſed in ample meaſure all the arts, that could recommend him at a court ſuch as that of Cyrus: ſupple, inſinuating, a zealous admirer of the young prince (who in truth was adorned with ſeveral excellent qualifications)

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

tions) he knew how to give his flattery an effect not to be reſiſted by Cyrus, accuſtomed as he had unfortunately been from his infant years to the adulations of the ſervile and degenerate Perſians. Beſides, the prince had received directions at Suſa to ſupport the Lacedemonian intereſt, which he was the more diſpoſed to do out of hatred to Tiſſaphernes, whoſe connections with Alcibiades were at leaſt ſuſpected. So that the Athenians loſt all hopes of aſſiſtance on the ſide of Perſia.

THESE changes made it neceſſary for Alcibiades to take a progreſs through the Ionian cities, in order to ſolicit ſupplies. The care of the fleet, during his abſence, he committed to Antiochus, an officer who had no other merit than that of being miniſter to his pleaſures. He had given him a ſtrict injunction to act only defenſively, without attempting any thing: but the vanity of Antiochus could not reſiſt the temptation of commanding on a day of battle, and having accordingly defied Lyſander, he was routed with the loſs of fifteen gallies. Such an inſtance of ill conduct in Alcibiades afforded too fair a pretence to thoſe that envied him, not to be improved to his deſtruction. The people, who never forgave the want of ſucceſs, liſtened eagerly to his accuſers: he was deprived, and ten admirals were appointed to command in his ſtead.

Bef. Chriſt 406. THE following year, happened the memorable fight at Arginuſæ, three iſlands ſituated between Leſbos and the Aſiatic coaſt. Callicratidas, who had ſucceeded Lyſander, beſieged Conon, one of the Athenian admirals, in the port of Mitylene. To extricate him, the other admirals attacked the Spartans with the ſhips remaining under their orders; which they did with ſo much ſpirit and ſucceſs, that Callicratidas was ſlain, and ſeventy of his

his ſhips were ſunk or taken. It could hardly be thought credible, that ſo glorious a victory ſhould furniſh matter of crimination againſt the very men, by whoſe valour and conduct it was obtained. It happened, that in the fight there were ſunk twenty-five of the Athenian gallies; and directions had been given to Theramenes to take up the bodies of thoſe who periſhed in them, and to perform to them the laſt duties: for among all the Grecian tribes it was accounted the greateſt impiety to ſuffer their citizens to be deprived of the rites of ſepulture. A ſtorm ariſing, Theramenes had it not in his power to execute his orders; a circumſtance, which on his return to Athens he found to have given occaſion to much murmurring. To exculpate himſelf therefore, he charged the admirals with having neglected this important office; ſure of being ſucceſsful in inflaming the Athenians to reſentment, where their ſuperſtitions were in queſtion. In vain did the admirals repreſent the ſervice they had performed, the ſhattered condition of their ſhips, the tempeſtuous weather that followed—all their remonſtrances were ineffectual, and they were condemned to pay for the ſuppoſed omiſſion with their lives. At the firſt, many of the Athenians oppoſed the cruel ſentence; but terrified by the violence of the people, who threatened to involve in the ſame fate as many as ſhould appear in their behalf, they all deſiſted, the philoſopher Socrates only excepted. He happened to be *Epiſtates*, or Preſident of the day; by virtue of which office, for the ſpace of four and twenty hours he ſuſpended the execution of that unjuſt decree, boldly expoſing himſelf to all the fury of the impetuous multitude.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

Of the ten admirals, ſix were executed; two were not preſent at the engagement, Conon and

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

Leon; and two ſaved themſelves by flight. Diodorus has recorded a remarkable ſpeech made by one of theſe unhappy victims of popular phrenſy, Diomedon, a man of blameleſs manners and high military character. As they were leading him out, 'O Athenians,' ſaid he, 'may the ſentence, by 'which we die this day, iſſue in the proſperity 'and happineſs of this commonwealth! Our laſt 'breath ſhall be employed in praying for our 'country. But at leaſt remember, that our vows 'and thankſgivings to the immortal gods, who 'bleſſed our arms with victory, are yet unpaid: 'ſince it is no longer in our power, be it your 'care to diſcharge that ſolemn duty.' He ſaid, and marched on to execution. The ſame author adds, that they were attended by all the virtuous citizens, melting into tears at the undeſerved fate and noble deportment of thoſe excellent men. One may well wonder, how a people capable of ſo ſignal an ingratitude ſhould ever find generals to fight their battles: and indeed we ſhall preſently ſee this iniquitous condemnation ſeverely viſited on them. However the people ſoon diſcerned the injuſtice they had been guilty of, and teſtified their repentance by purſuing with hatred thoſe who had been foremoſt in the proſecution.

Bef. Chriſt 405.

THE enſuing year, the Lacedemonians proſpered greatly: for Lyſander, who had been reinſtated in the command, was all-powerful with Cyrus, even to that degree, that when the young prince, on account of ſome acts of cruelty he had been guilty of, received orders from his father Darius to return to Suſa, he gave directions that the tribute of all his provinces ſhould be paid to the Lacedemonian admiral. With ſuch a ſupport, Lyſander was enabled to enterpriſe mighty things: he

he ſurpriſed ſeveral of the iſlands; he reduced part of Caria; and laid ſiege to Lampſacus, an opulent city on the ſtreights of the Helleſpont. The Athenian fleet at this time was commanded by Conon, Adiamantus, and Philocles, who immediately haſtened to the relief of this confederate city; but learning on their way that it was already in the hands of the enemy, they anchored at Ægos-potamos, a place on the Thracian coaſt, oppoſite to Lampſacus. BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

It was the purpoſe of Conon and his collegues to provoke the Spartans to an engagement, who lay only at two miles diſtance from them; and therefore early each day was their fleet formed in line of battle. On the ſide of the Spartan general, however, there appeared no haſte to accept the challenge; ſo that the Athenians grew remiſs and licentious, the ſoldiers generally going on ſhore towards the cloſe of the day, to ſpend the night in relaxation and revelling. In this manner for a conſiderable time did the expert Lyſander indulge the ſecurity of the enemy, when on a certain evening, ſoon as the light veſſels, ſtationed to watch when the Athenians went on ſhore, had given the ſignal, he ordered his fleet to move on, and attack the Athenian gallies. Conon was the firſt that perceived them advancing, and he did all that could be done in that exigency. He commanded the alarm to be ſounded; he himſelf called aloud on his men, he beſought, he threatened; but all to no purpoſe: they were already diſperſed along the ſhore, many of them overwhelmed with ſleep, all of them unarmed and in confuſion; and the few that got on ſhipboard, and endeavoured to make oppoſition, loſt their lives in the attempt. Thus all at once, at a ſingle blow, was the ſtrength of Athens deſtroyed; Conon, with eight

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

gallies only, eſcaping to Cyprus. The other generals, with three thouſand Athenians, were made priſoners: of theſe Adiamantus alone was ſpared, becauſe in the proſecution of the war he had ſhewed mercy; the reſt were all put to death.

CONSTERNATION, ſuch as that republic had never experienced before, hung over Athens at the receipt of this important news; while Lyſander purſued his victory, and reduced all the cities and iſlands that had been ſubject to the Athenian dominion. His policy was to diſmiſs the enemies garriſons wherever he came, with orders to repair to Athens; thus to croud the city with a multitude of inhabitants, that it might be the more eaſily oppreſſed by famine, when the Spartans ſhould beſiege it. That time of diſtreſs came ſpeedily. Agis and Pauſanias (which laſt had ſucceeded his father Pliſtoanax) marched againſt it, and Lyſander with a fleet of above two hundred gallies appeared before the Pirean port: ſo that all the avenues being entirely blocked up, the city began ſoon to feel the want of proviſions.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe dreadful ſtraits, the Athenians perſiſted in defending themſelves to the laſt extremity, becauſe the enemy refuſed to enter into any treaty, unleſs their walls were demoliſhed. At length, preſſed by ſore famine, they empowered Theramenes to go to Sparta, and endeavour at any price to ſave the wretched remains of the Athenian people. Accordingly peace was obtained on theſe conditions: 'that the long walls and fortifications 'of the Piræus ſhould be levelled with the 'ground; that all their ſhips, with the exception 'of twelve only, ſhould be given up to Sparta; 'that they ſhould reſtore all the citizens they had 'baniſhed; and in all things ſhould follow the 'Lacedemonian fortune.' The Bœotians, the Corinthians,

Bef. Chriſt 404.

Corinthians, and other confederates, gave their voices for the utter exciſion of Athens: the Spartans alone oppoſed it, pretending they would never conſent to put out *one of the eyes* of Greece. It may rather be ſuſpected, that in ſparing a rival ſtate they acted from the leſs generous motive of keeping up a balance againſt the Bœotians. BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

IT is obſerved, that the day, on which the walls were demoliſhed, was the anniverſary of the victory at Salamis. And Plutarch tells us, that Lyſander commanded the walls to be raſed, and the ſhips to be ſet on fire, to the ſound of muſical inſtruments, the Lacedemonians crowned with garlands dancing along. It will not be eaſy to reflect without indignation on the meanneſs, that could thus delight in adding weight to the miſery of a ruined people, although that very people had brought deſtruction on themſelves by corrupted manners and ambitious ill-digeſted counſels.

BOOK VIII.

SECTION I.

WE have ſeen the deſtitute condition of Athens at the cloſe of this unfortunate war, her navies deſtroyed, her walls laid in ruins: but far more dreadful was the deſolation that followed. That wretched city was now left expoſed to the will of an unfeeling conqueror, who, as if he had thought it a light matter to ſtrip her of all military defence, endeavoured to ſubdue the very ſpirit of the people, and by tyrannical rule to break them to ſufferance and bondage. For this purpoſe he compelled them to elect thirty of their own citizens, who ſhould have power to model the commonwealth at their pleaſure: they were to appoint the ſenate, to name magiſtrates, to preſcribe laws. So that the democracy was totally ſuppreſſed, and the ſtate abandoned to the luſt of theſe arbitrary governors.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 404.

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BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

In one reſpect only the arrangements of Lyſander carried the appearance of fairneſs, that the perſons to whom he truſted the reins of government were all native Athenians. Yet was this nothing more than a ſpecious ſhew, which ſerved to render the ſcourge the moreſevere and galling. Lyſander knew well, that unlimited power makes tyrants; and that even thoſe who appear moſt zealous for liberty and juſt laws are apt to oppreſs, when deſpotic ſway is permitted to them. Beſides, theſe men had the indignation and hatred of thoſe, who had lately been their equals, to contend with; which muſt naturally have encreaſed their jealouſy, and exaſperated them the more to deeds violent and mercileſs. It ſhould be remarked alſo, that by this artful contrivance the odium was in ſome meaſure taken off from Sparta: it was by the hands of Athenians, that Athens ſuffered; her own ſons plunged the dagger into the boſom of their expiring country.

THE thirty tyrants but too well anſwered the expectations of the inhuman Lyſander, proceeding to an exceſs of cruelty hardly to be credited. At firſt their actions, though rigorous, had the appearance at leaſt of juſtice, as none were condemned to die except ſuch as were in ſome way criminal. But by degrees avarice and revenge carried them to ſuch lengths, that they found it neceſſary to have a garriſon from Sparta, to ſupport them in their licentious meaſures. As ſoon as they had this addition of ſtrength, they gave the reins, without any limitation, to violence. All the greateſt and beſt men of Athens, all thoſe whoſe characters could be a reproach, or fortunes a temptation to them, were involved in the ſame fate: even not to applaud their conduct was a treaſon worthy of death; and every day was ſtained with a freſh effuſion of blood. At length,

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ſome of the tyrants themſelves thought it impolitic to go on thus; and it was reſolved to exempt from general proſcription three thouſand citizens, whoſe lives ſhould not be forfeited but by a legal trial before the ſenate. The very exception ſhews the atrocity of the government that had recourſe to it. As for all the other Athenians, they were ſacrificed promiſcuouſly, without even the formality of an accuſation, and with a rage ſo unſparing, that by the teſtimony of the orator Æſchines, the carnage extended to more than fifteen hundred perſons.

WHAT is moſt ſurpriſing, there were two of this junto, Critias and Theramenes, who had been diſciples to Socrates, and numbered among his friends; and yet in cruelty Critias excelled all the reſt. Theramenes indeed was of a gentle diſpoſition: his nature revolted againſt the outrageous proceedings of his aſſociates, inſomuch that he could not refrain from teſtifying his diſlike by declarations that proved fatal to him. Critias, dreading the tendency of his ſpeeches, charged him before the ſenate as a mover of ſedition: but as he perceived in the ſenators a leaning towards Theramenes, 'To put an end,' ſaid he, 'to all 'debate concerning this matter, I take upon me 'by my own authority to eraſe the name of 'Theramenes out of the liſt of the three thouſand, 'and as a criminal whoſe cauſe is no longer 'cognizable here, I ſentence him to die;' with the ſame breath commanding the foreign ſoldiers to lay hands on him. Theramenes endeavoured to eſcape, and made his way to an altar that was near; but the claims of religion were as little reſpected as thoſe of humanity; he was torn away thence, and forced to ſwallow the draught of hemlock. An execution ſo dreadfully circumſtanced

In Cteſiph. 86.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

ſtanced terrified all Athens: her citizens ſaw no reſource but in the kindneſs of the neighbouring ſtates, to which they fled in great numbers, and where they were received with a degree of kindneſs that did great honour to their protectors. Steady to their principles of ſeverity, the Spartans had publiſhed an edict, requiring all perſons to withhold aſſiſtance from the Athenian refugees, and under the penalty of five talents to deliver them up into the hands of the tyrants. But the feelings of human nature operated more forcibly than the dread of the Spartan power; ſo that both at Thebes and Argos theſe unfortunate men found an aſylum. The Thebans even went ſo far as to impoſe a mulct on ſuch of their people as ſhould refuſe protection to the Athenian fugitives.

In the number of thoſe who owed their ſafety to the compaſſion of Thebes was Thraſybulus, an Athenian diſtinguiſhed by his birth, but much more ſo by his virtues. Not ſatisfied with ſecuring his own life, unleſs he could effect the deliverance alſo of his afflicted country, he with thirty more ventured back into Attica, where he made himſelf maſter of Phylè, a ſtrong caſtle near the Bœotian frontier. The tyrants, greatly alarmed at this enterpriſe to ſhake their power, offered him any terms, even to admit him to a ſhare of the ſovereignty in the room of Theramenes, if he would deſiſt. But he generouſly proteſted, 'that no offers ſhould ever bribe him 'from the ſervice of his country, which he would 'either reſcue from ſlavery, or periſh in the 'attempt.' The ſpirit of the man drew ſuch multitudes to his ſtandard, that in a ſhort time he found himſelf in a condition to march to the capital, and to ſeize on the Piræan port; in conſequence of which ſucceſs, the tyrants thought proper to withdraw from Athens. Thus by the virtue

virtue of one man was the city again reſtored to its ancient government and peace. BOOK VIII.

A MEASURE which this illuſtrious Athenian recommended, immediately after the expulſion of the tyrants, diſcovered as great a ſhare of wiſdom as of zeal for the public good. The wounds of Athens were yet bleeding freſh; ſcarcely was there a family of diſtinction, that had not cauſe to mourn the cruelties of the late government. At the ſame time, all thoſe who had been inſtrumental to the ſupport of deſpotiſm, had many gloomy fears, and hated a revolution which they apprehended muſt prove fatal to them. Thraſybulus ſaw this; and though his own wrongs called loudly for revenge, yet preferring public before private regards, he propoſed a law for a general *amneſty*, a word then firſt brought into political uſe, implying 'that all injuries ſuſtained under 'the late oppreſſion ſhould be entirely forgotten.' This happy expedient confirmed the public tranquillity, and cauſed amity and cordial affection to ſucceed in the place of rancour and diſtruſt. Sect. 1.

IT is not to be imagined however, that the ſubverſion of arbitrary power at Athens would have been effected with ſo little trouble and bloodſhed, if Thraſybulus had not found, even among the Spartans, thoſe who ſecretly favoured his deſigns. Pauſanias, one of the kings of Sparta, had been ordered into Attica to ſupport the Thirty, but ſhewed no haſte to maintain an eſtabliſhment which he diſliked, as the work of Lyſander, of whoſe ambitious enterpriſing ſpirit he was not a little jealous: for Lyſander, by new modelling the government in moſt of the Grecian ſtates, and conferring the authority on whom he pleaſed, had ſecured to himſelf a powerful following.

THE

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

THE laſt act of miſchief, perpetrated by theſe oppreſſors of Athens a little before their expulſion, was the deſtroying of Alcibiades. Critias and his collegues dreaded that active genius, depreſſed and exiled as he was, and prevailed with Pharnabazus to purſue him to death. The place he had firſt choſen for his reſidence, after the defeat of Antiochus, was a caſtle on the Thracian coaſt; but thinking himſelf no longer ſafe there when Athens was taken, he ſhifted his ſtation, well aſſured that the Spartans would not ſpare him, and retired into Bithynia, and thence into Phrygia, to put himſelf under the protection of Pharnabazus, by whom he was baſely made a ſacrifice to the fears of the Thirty Tyrants. The emiſſaries of the Perſian ſatrap, it is ſaid, not daring to attack him openly, ſurrounded the houſe where he ſlept, and ſet it on fire. Alcibiades wrapped his robe about his left arm, and ſword in hand made his way through the flames into the midſt of his aſſaſſins, none of whom ventured to approach him. Such were the fatal rewards the aſpiring Alcibiades obtained to himſelf, he, whoſe extraordinary endowments, if properly employed, might have rendered him a bleſſing, as well as an ornament, to his country.

Bef. Chriſt 403.

SCARCELY were the Athenians recovered from the miſeries of the late war, when their own ſuperſtitious phrenſy brought on them a new calamity, a calamity as much to be deplored, as any that hoſtile rage had yet expoſed them to—the condemnation and death of the great Socrates. Of this excellent man we have had occaſion already more than once to make mention: but ſuch was his whole character, ſo diſtinguiſhed is the place he holds in the Grecian annals, that we ſhould ill conſult the improvement of the youthful reader

reader particularly, if we gave not a more exact portraiture of him. BOOK VIII.

HE was born of mean parentage, and laboured under all the difficulties of an indigent fortune, having in his earlier years loſt the little patrimony that was left to him. His form was uncouth, his voice coarſe, his countenance harſh and ill-favoured; ſo that he was not poſſeſſed of any of the external advantages, which uſually beſpeak regard and acceptance. But to balance this, he had a mind fair and beautiful, great ſtrength of parts, an amazing quickneſs of apprehenſion; and withal, a winning attractive deportment, and the moſt amiable manners. His natural abilities he improved by the ſtudy of philoſophy, which he conducted in a manner hitherto unpractiſed, having determined, as ſoon as he was capable of making a choice, to renounce all barren ſpeculations, and to confine his attention to truths moral and uſeful. In this view, he endeavoured not ſo much to ſearch into the ſecrets of nature, as to ſtudy virtue. He brought Philoſophy from her myſterious dark retreat into the chearful ways of men: he taught her to mix in the buſtle of cities, to illuminate and beautify domeſtic life. And this he did, not by profeſſed lectures, or meditated diſcourſes. His whole converſation, his whole behaviour was pregnant with inſtruction. At his meals, in his walks, in the ſtreets and ſhops of Athens, in the aſſemblies of the people, in the very camp, and amidſt the toils of war, he was always making wiſer as many as had the happineſs of being near him, correcting their faults, and informing their underſtandings. Had Alcibiades, had Critias, and many other Athenians of thoſe times, retained in memory his admirable leſſons, they had lived happy Sect. 1.

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BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

and honoured. Alcibiades, we have told the reader, ſeemed above all others to be his choſen care. The many noble qualifications, with which nature had endowed this extraordinary perſonage, made him dear to Socrates, who ſpared no pains to reſtrain his vanity and ambition.

'Do you know,' would he ſay to him, 'to 'what ſum the revenues and expences of the 'commonwealth amount to annually? what ap-'pointments are neceſſary for the maintenance of 'an army? by what means you may raiſe ſup-'plies?' This was at the time when Alcibiades, aſpiring and unexperienced, was compaſſing in his hopes the adminiſtration of public affairs, and planning to himſelf what mighty things he would do for Athens—he was to bid defiance to the whole Perſian empire, and to make Artaxerxes tremble in his palace at Suſa. When the young Athenian was at a loſs how to anſwer theſe ſignificant queſtions, 'Then,' would Socrates proceed, 'what will Ameſtris ſay, when ſhe hears, that 'the man who meditates theſe mighty enterpriſes, 'and menaces ruin to her ſon, is a raw unfledged 'ſtateſman, a ſtranger to both the political and 'military arts, who has neither intereſt at home, 'nor weight abroad? How contemptuous will 'ſhe ſmile, when ſhe hears this, and ſcoff at the 'vain preſumer!' On another occaſion, perceiving him much elated with the contemplation of his riches and large eſtate, he ſhewed him a map of the world, and deſired him to find out Attica in it; it was contracted into a little ſpeck: he then bade him point out his own eſtate; but when that could not be done, 'How mean is it 'then,' obſerved Socrates, 'to prize yourſelf on 'that which is ſo inconſiderable, that its place is 'not here to be found!'

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In this manner did he cultivate the minds of the youth of Athens: the diſſolute he formed to ſobriety and temperance, the froward to modeſty and ſubmiſſion, the impious to a reverence of religion and to a life of purity. 'The beſt way of 'worſhipping the Deity,' would he ſay, 'is to 'live as he commands.' He taught his hearers to turn their ſteps from the flowery paths of pleaſure, to look down with indifference on ſplendor and wealth, to inure themſelves to difficulties, and to meet the approach of danger under whatſoever form with ſteady intrepidity; for that 'nothing 'was *an ill*, but *to do ill*, nor any thing honoura-'ble and glorious, but what was virtuous and 'good.'

Neither were theſe leſſons the dictates of ſupercilious pride and oſtentation: they were the faithful tranſcript of his own practice. No man lived more abſtemiouſly. He deſpiſed the opportunity of amaſſing riches. He was meek, humble, patient under the ſevereſt trials, of unblemiſhed integrity, and ſtrict continence. And yet the diſpoſition he received from nature would have led him aſtray: he owned himſelf, that it had coſt him much ſtruggle to conquer the importuning ſolicitations of his paſſions. This ſeverity which he obſerved towards himſelf did not render him auſtere and gloomy: he converſed freely with his fellow citizens, he was preſent at their entertainments, he was the life of their feaſts: ever pleaſant and gay, he contrived to make the wholeſomeſt inſtruction palatable by the pungency of wit and a plentiful interſperſion of harmleſs jeſts. Serenity and chearfulneſs diffuſed themſelves wherever he appeared; he was the admiration of the old, and the joy of the young; the men of buſineſs

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1. buſineſs crouded around him, and the proudeſt ſtateſman liſtened to him with rapture.

SUCH as he was in private life, ſuch he was alſo in the diſcharge of all public duties; the ſame his integrity, the ſame his freedom of ſpirit. Thrice he ſerved his country in her wars abroad, at Potidæa, at Delium, at Amphipolis: in every one of thoſe expeditions he was an example to the whole army, by his intrepid courage and patient abiding of all hardſhips. At Potidæa particularly, he had a noble opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf. The Athenians were obliged to remain at the ſiege during the winter, which in Thrace is remarkably ſevere. Nevertheleſs, Socrates went clad in his uſual manner: not even the meaneſt ſoldier could endure the inclemency of the weather equally with him. He would ſtand, contemplating, on the frozen ground: he walked barefoot through heaps of ſnow, at the very time that the army, though under their tents, and wrapt in warm furs, were ſcarce able to bear the rigour of the ſeaſon. At this ſiege, he had the good fortune to ſave the life of his beloved Alcibiades; when he was wounded, and in imminent danger from the enemy, Socrates ſtept before him, and brought him off ſafely. The judges appointed to decide what ſoldier had fought the beſt, would on this occaſion have conferred the palm on Socrates, which he declined, and by earneſt ſuit procured it for Alcibiades. When the plague ravaged Athens, he alone, of all thoſe in the city, never felt ſickneſs: he walked abroad amidſt the rage of the devouring peſtilence, free from apprehenſion, free from harm; aſſiſting, relieving his diſconſolate fellow citizens.

BUT the moſt glorious part of his character was the manner in which he acquitted himſelf in the public

public assemblies and councils of the state: there he never was known to give either advice or suffrage but from a sound judgment and an uncorrupted heart, unmoved by danger, unbiassed by affection. He strenuously spoke against the fatal expedition to Sicily, though the darling project of his own Alcibiades. He alone opposed the violence of the people, when they unjustly condemned to death the six admirals who had deserved so well at Arginusæ. Soon after, it was his fate to see his country in the hands of her enemies, and groaning under the yoke of bondage: and yet even then, he alone seemed to enjoy his antient liberty. He boldly charged the tyrants with their murders and oppressions; he stood against them, and avowedly disobeyed their commands, 'because,' he told them, 'they were wicked and 'arbitrary.' When Theramenes was dragged to execution, he attempted to rescue him, at the hazard of his own life. For a pretence to rid themselves of him, the tyrants commanded him to go and apprehend an innocent man. He refused peremptorily. 'And what,' said one of them, 'dost thou think, Socrates, to speak thus, and 'not to suffer?—'To suffer! yes,' replied he, 'a thousand evils; but none so great, as the evil 'of acting unjustly.' They would have restrained him from offering instruction to the young people and the artisans of Athens, from a reasonable suspicion, that by his usual discourses of piety, of justice, and the public good, the whole commonalty would be spirited up to rebel against them: but it was scarcely possible to restrain him, without confining him entirely; for where-er he shewed himself, whatever topic he treated of, he instructed. At length, as he had constantly resisted, so he had also a considerable share in the sub-

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BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

verſion of this government; for it is generally believed, that the deſigns of Thraſybulus and his friends were communicated to Socrates, and carried on with his approbation. It is alſo extremely probable, that the act of oblivion, which ſo happily re-eſtabliſhed the peace of Athens, was, partly at leaſt, of his deviſing; for never was man more averſe from violent proceedings, never was man more ſincerely zealous to advance the public proſperity.

SOCRATES was ſuperior to all the wiſeſt men of Greece, not only in the excellence of his philoſophy and the dignity of his manners, but alſo in the juſtneſs of his conceptions concerning the divine nature. He conſidered the received accounts of the pagan deities in the light of abſurd legends, the offspring of the licentious fancy of poets, and conſecrated by ſacerdotal diſhoneſty, and the ignorance of a ſuperſtitious vulgar. His religion was far different. He believed a God, 'one, ſupreme, arbiter of events, ſpiritual, immenſe, eternal, ſole origin of being and happineſs to all, poſſeſſing in himſelf whatſoever is lovely, great, and good. Neither pride, nor envy, nor cruelty, nor luſt,' ſaid our philoſopher, 'find a place before Him; but wiſdom, holineſs, juſtice, mercy, and truth, are the perpetual attendants of his throne. Theſe are the glorious attributes he delights in, and by the imitation of theſe only his approbation is to be purchaſed. In the ſight of that Being not the richeſt oblations, the moſt coſtly victims, not pompous rites, nor myſterious ſolemnities, ſhall render our prayers valuable, but only the humble offering of a mind upright and innocent. On thoſe who approach him thus, he pours down his benign influence: they are bleſſed

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'with his protection; even after death they are happy; the painful journey of life ended, they return to that ſacred fountain of joy, to partake of unchangeable felicity.' BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

CONCEPTIONS ſo exalted, ſo diſcordant to what the prieſt taught and the multitude believed, could not fail of raiſing him many enemies: and although he uttered his thoughts on ſeveral of theſe articles ſparingly and with ſeeming diffidence, yet was it well known, that the opinions he entertained were extremely dangerous to the intereſts of polytheiſm. Another claſs of men alſo bore an inveterate hatred to him. The Sophiſts, when he firſt began to teach, were in poſſeſſion of the ſchools of Athens. They appear to have been a ſet of mercenary ſcioliſts, employed in uſeleſs reſearches, and maſters of nothing more than a vain pedantry. Yet by the help of a voluble elocution, and ſounding far-ſought expreſſions, were they held in admiration. Their profeſſion was, to ſpeak on all ſubjects, to confute all arguments, to ſolve all queſtions: they never were at a loſs for words, and if they could not convince, they were ſure to puzzle. This kind of men had done very ſerious miſchief to the Athenian youth; they had corrupted their minds as well as their taſte, and in the ſtead of modeſty and good ſenſe, had inſpired them with confidence and petulancy. It was the endeavour of the excellent Socrates to ſilence theſe falſe pretenders, and the teſt which he put to them was a trying one His practice was, to approach them with great ſhew of reſpect, when, as if for the ſake of inſtruction, he would propoſe to them ſome plain queſtion,—'What 'virtue was? what piety conſiſted in? which 'were the moſt effectual means of pleaſing 'the gods?' and the like: To theſe he required

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

plain preciſe anſwers, which drew on a train of new queſtions, till the preſſed ſophiſt, beaten out of all his entrenchments, and ſelf-confuted, remained ſpeechleſs, the object of deriſion and contempt. This method of reaſoning, called from him the *Socratic method*, was of ſingular uſe: it defeated all ſhrewd diſtinctions, together with the whole hoſt of ſophiſtical evaſions; knowledge was clearly conveyed, and truth placed by it in the moſt ſtriking light.

IF to all theſe enemies of Socrates we add ſuch as he had irritated by his freedom of reproof (for he regarded no danger, he ſpared no vice) we ſhall be able to judge, to what a formidable number the hoſtile batallion amounted. But how to attack ſuch a perſon, was the difficulty. To charge him with immorality, would carry its own refutation with it. It was therefore contrived to make the people laugh at his exalted character: 'they would reverence leſs, what they had been 'taught to ridicule.' Ariſtophanes, the greateſt comic writer of his age, was prevailed on to proſtitute his wit to a purpoſe ſo unworthy. Accordingly, Socrates was produced on the ſtage in the moſt ludicrous point of view the poet's art could place him in. It is true, the plot did not ſucceed completely, Socrates himſelf having taken off much of the keenneſs of the ſatire, by appearing in the theatre at the very time, and joining in the jeſt with his uſual pleaſantneſs: but it is certain alſo, that ſuch impreſſions did it leave on the minds of many, as in the end proved fatal to this excellent man. This happened about twenty years before his death; and probably the troubles that intervened left it not in the power of his ill-wiſhers to attend to their reſentments.

WITH the return of public peace the deſire of humbling Socrates returned. A formal indictment was preferred againſt him by Anytus, a ſophiſt, and Melitus; the one a principal agent in the original proſecution, the other a young man now firſt perſuaded to join his enemies. He was accuſed 'of introducing new gods, and not 'believing the deities which the ſtate believed;' and alſo 'of corrupting the Athenian youth.' This laſt was a ſuggeſtion altogether unfounded; for on his trial his adverſaries could only ſay, 'that he had erected himſelf into a friend and 'counſellor to the younger part of the commu-'nity; that he had ſtolen away their affections; 'that they followed, reſpected, obeyed him, with 'too much devotion and reverence.' The former part of the impeachment had better grounds; for certainly far different was the religion of Socrates from the idolatrous creed of the Athenian people.

THE philoſopher ſaw the tempeſt gathering againſt him, calm and unmoved. He made no preparation for his defence, but employed the whole interval of time between his accuſation and his trial in his ordinary courſe of public inſtruction; an indifference, which occaſioned great uneaſineſs to his friends. Hermogenes particularly remonſtrated to him, that his blameleſs life and ſimplicity of manners would avail but little before judges capable of being led away by artful repreſentations. 'Why, to own the truth to you,' returned Socrates, 'I have a monitor within' (his dæmon he called it) 'that withholds me from pre-'paring any apology.' Hermogenes expreſſing wonder at this, 'What,' continued Socrates, 'is it ſtrange, that God ſhould think it fit for me 'to die at this time? Hitherto have I lived up-'rightly, my ſource of joy at all times, and now

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BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

'my greateſt comfort. If I continue here, I 'know I muſt undergo what is proper to old age, 'defect of hearing and ſight, ſlowneſs to appre-'hend, aptneſs to forget. How can I then be 'pleaſed to live longer, and grow worſe? It is 'likely, God in his love to me has ordained, 'that I ſhould die in the moſt convenient age, 'and by the gentleſt means. Were I to defeat 'the attempts of my enemies, I ſhould only ſtay 'longer to be at laſt taken away by the activity 'of diſeaſe and the imperfections of age *, which 'truly, Hermogenes, I deſire not. And if, 'when I give an account of my actions, the 'judges ſhall think fit to condemn me, it will be 'my choice to die, rather than to beg of them a 'life more irkſome than death.'

IN like manner did he reſiſt the importunities of all his diſciples and friends; for never was man more dearly beloved, than was Socrates by thoſe who had the happineſs of a daily intercourſe with him. Lyſias, an eminent orator, even compoſed for him an oration, of which he beſought him to make uſe. 'No,' ſaid Socrates, 'it is a 'good one, but not fit for me.'—'Good, and 'not fit for you! how can that be?' aſked Ly-ſias. 'Why,' anſwered the philoſopher, 'may 'not a garment be too gay, and therefore not fit 'for me? Were ſhoes to be brought me of rich 'ſtuff and delicately made, I would refuſe to 'wear them, though I had nothing to object to 'their ſize.' In the opinion of this excellent judge, the ſpeech in queſtion had more of elegance than of ingenuity and manlineſs.

THE day of trial being come at length, the charge was enforced againſt him by his two proſecutors, ſupported by a certain orator named Lycon; after which Socrates roſe up to make reply, and though unpremeditated, his defence was

* He was then upwards of 70 years old.

was uttered with remarkable firmneſs of voice and countenance. What his method of life had been, he appealed to the judgement of all Athens; what his deportment, what his manners; whether he had not preferred an honeſt poverty to all the advantages of wealth; whether he had ever been wanting to the ſervice he owed his country, in times of preſſing difficulty. 'As to the young 'people of Athens, who,' continued he, 'can 'ſay that I have corrupted them? Can you, 'Melitus, name one, whom I have rendered im- 'pious, ſhameleſs, prodigal, debauched, or effe- 'minate? They obſerve me, it is true, and pay 'me filial reverence. But my concern, my 'watchfulneſs for their welfare, my care of their 'inſtruction, the opinion they have of my ability 'and wiſh to ſerve them, theſe are the cauſes that 'have wrought the effect you complain of, the 'endearments that have made me a father to 'them. And is it fit that I ſhould ſuffer death for 'this? Have I deſerved capital puniſhment for 'procuring good citizens to the commonwealth; 'for having contributed ſo largely to the advance- 'ment of the public happineſs?'

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

With reſpect to the principal point indeed, the charge of infidelity, much it were to be wiſhed that he had not here acted beneath himſelf, by endeavouring to throw off the imputation of not believing the gods of his country. 'He had 'aſſiſted,' he ſaid, 'at the ſolemn feſtivals: he 'had ſacrificed at the public altars.' How much more glorious, had he, in this important inſtance, reſolutely confeſſed his principles, and bore avowed witneſs againſt the worſhip of the pagan divinities? Whatever was the reaſon, whether his mind was not fully enlightened, or whether, according to ſome, he thought a reſpect to be due

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BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

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BOOK VIII. Sect. 1. to the eſtabliſhed rites and national worſhip, certain it is, that he choſe to diſſemble his ſentiments, and leave the religion of his country unimpeached.

THE judges, notwithſtanding, were much offended with Socrates' defence. Unexceptionable as the matter was, it was delivered in ſo aſſured a manner, without either dejected look or ſupplicating voice, rather as demanding juſtice than ſuing for favour, that two hundred and eighty one perſons gave their ſuffrages for his condemnation. It was the cuſtom among the Athenians, when the accuſed was caſt, if the fault was not capital, to impoſe a pecuniary mulct; previouſly to which, they aſked the priſoner, at what rate he himſelf eſtimated his offence. The judges therefore put the queſtion to Socrates. Diſdaining all mean conceſſions, 'I ſentence myſelf,' he reſolutely anſwered, 'in return for what I have done, 'to be honoured during the remainder of my 'life with a public maintenance in the Pry-'taneum.' This bold aſſertion of his innocence encreaſed the indignation of the judges to that degree, that, eighty more joining in the condemnation, they adjudged him to death. In vain did his diſciples interpoſe in his behalf: Plato would have ſpoken; but they were all ſilenced. Prepoſſeſſion and mad rage held the ſway: and to the eternal diſgrace of Athens, was the wiſeſt and beſt of her citizens laden with fetters, and condemned to die by the draught of hemlock.

SOCRATES received the ſentence with his uſual compoſure. 'What ſhould deject me now,' ſaid he, 'more than before I was condemned, ſince I 'am not more guilty? That I die thus, troubleth 'me not: it is not opprobrious to me, but to 'thoſe who have condemned me. I know well

'how

'how future times will account of this matter, for never did I hurt or injure any; on the contrary, 'it has been my delight to benefit all that have 'converſed with me, to the utmoſt of my abilities.' From the place of judgment he was conducted to priſon, 'which ceaſed from that time,' ſays a noble Roman, 'to be the dwelling of reproach;' it became the abode of peace, of juſtice, of virtue.

THE evening before his condemnation, it ſo chanced, that the prieſt of Apollo crowned the ſacred veſſel that was to ſail to Delos. This ſolemnity, we have already ſaid, was annually obſerved in diſcharge of a vow Theſeus made when he was ſent to Crete; and the cuſtom was, that the city ſhould be luſtrated, as a preparation for the ſhip's departure, and that, until it returned, no criminal ſhould be put to death. The courſe of the winds, on the preſent occaſion, delayed the return of the veſſel to thirty days; during which interval his friends employed all their efforts to ſave him. Some offered to carry him off by force, which he not only refuſed, but derided, aſking them, 'if they knew any place 'out of Attica, where death could not enter?' Crito, an Athenian of wealth and conſequence, had even by frequent viſits and lage preſents gained an intereſt with the jailor; ſo that two days before the death of his friend, he conceived himſelf in a capacity to effect an eſcape for him, in which view he made a viſit. On coming in, he found Socrates aſleep; whereupon he ſat down by his ſide, rapt in ſilent wonder at the ſoundneſs with which he ſlept, and the calm that overſpread his countenance. When he awoke, Crito earneſtly urged the matter to him. He beſought him, in the name of his *country*, which muſt be

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1. disgraced for ever, should he suffer by the unjust angry sentence she had pronounced—in the name of his *friends*, to whom posterity would impute it, as if they had neglected his preservation—in the name of his *children*, who were now to be deprived of the instruction and guidance of the tendereſt and best of parents—to hasten away, and provide for his safety. All things, he told him, were in readiness, and the business required dispatch, for that the sacred galley was at Sunium, and would be at Athens the following day.

'THE kindness you intended me,' answered Socrates, 'deserves my warmest acknowledg-
'ments, and fully do I feel the strength of every
'motive you have urged to me. But am I at
'liberty to yield to the impression? Do not I
'owe obedience to the laws of my country? have
'I not lived all my days under their protection?
'have I not subjected myself to their decision?
'and therefore, though condemned unjustly, am
'I not bound to submit to what they have deter-
'mined? Methinks, the Laws are even now
'before me, invested with forms, and upbraiding
'me audibly: Tell us, Socrates, what purpose
'you to do? Know you not, that by this at-
'tempt of yours you are destroying, as far as in
'you lieth, both us and the commonwealth?
'Can a state subsist, when the laws are without
'force, despised and trodden under foot by private
'persons? You have been injured by men, not
'by the laws; and if you retort the injustice by
'breaking the compact you have made with us,
'you injure the whole body of the Athenian
'people, you undermine the public security.
'Nor shall your escape avail you. Wherever you
'are, we will follow and reproach you; and even
'after this life, shall our sisters, the Laws of the
'invisible

'invisible world, call you to a severe account BOOK
'for the contempt you have wantonly brought VIII.
'on us.' This lively apologue silenced Crito. Sect. 1.
Admiration and tears were all the reply he had to make.

As Crito had conjectured, the galley returned. And the ensuing morning, all the friends of Socrates that were in Athens (Plato excepted, who was sick) repaired to the prison. They came early, that they might be the longer with him; whence they were detained some time at the door, because the Eleven were with Socrates, to notify to him that he was to die that day, and to take off his fetters, agreeably to the humane practice of Athens, where it was esteemed impious, on the day of his execution, to hold in bonds a person, who was then accounted the victim and property of Death. That ominous ceremony performed, his friends were admitted, and found in company with the prisoner his wife Xanthippe, who with a flood of tears, exclaimed, 'O So-'crates, this is the last time thou shalt behold thy 'friends, or thy friends shall behold thee!' 'Crito,' said Socrates, 'let her be conducted 'home.' Accordingly, some of Crito's people led her away.

SOCRATES, being now alone with his friends, began to converse with his wonted tranquillity, adapting his discourse to his present situation, and endeavouring to render every hour that remained to him, instructive and exemplary. 'How un-'accountable,' said he, rubbing his leg where the chain had lately galled him, 'is the feeling they 'call *pleasure!* how nearly connected with *pain*, 'to which it appears so contrary! for whoever 'enjoys the one, must unavoidably receive the 'other, as if nature had linked them together.

'I believe,

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

'I believe, had Æſop thought on the ſubject, he 'would have deviſed ſome ſuch fable as this: '*that God, deſigning to reconcile theſe two anta-* '*goniſts, and finding it impoſſible, had joined them* '*by their ſummits, ſo that to whomſoever the one* '*cometh, the other immediately ſucceeds.* This I at 'the preſent moment experience; the pain, 'which my chains occaſioned, being now followed 'by a pleaſurable ſenſation.'

AFTER anſwering ſome queſtions which his friends put to him, 'This day,' continued he, 'I 'am to go hence: ſo have the Athenians ordered 'it; and far from purſuing me with lamenta- 'tions, there is not one of you that muſt not 'eſteem ſuch a departure extremely advantageous 'and deſirable.' Some of his diſciples ſeeming to gather from this, that a wiſe man ſhould court death, 'To every one,' obſerved the excellent Socrates, 'has the Deity aſſigned his poſt here, 'which to deſert without his permiſſion were 'highly impious. Should not you be diſpleaſed, 'if your ſlave were to kill himſelf, and ſo de- 'prive you of your property? and would you 'not, if in your power, puniſh him? We are 'the property of God, acting here by his appoint- 'ment, and under his ſuperintendency; and 'therefore, in whatever ſtation he has thought fit 'to place us, in it we are to abide, till he is 'pleaſed to ſend us a ſummons, ſuch as he now 'ſends to me.' Here he was interrupted by Cebes the Theban, the author of that beautiful mytho- logical picture of human life, which has come down to our times: 'If, Socrates, we are the 'property of the Supreme Being, and acting 'under his ſuperintendency, why ſhould you be 'deſirous to remove from under that ſuperin- 'tendence, and to ceaſe to be his property? No

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'man ſurely can think to better his condition by withdrawing from ſuch a government.' 'O Cebes,' the philoſopher replied, 'did I believe, that by departing hence I ſhould ceaſe to be the property of the great Parent of the univerſe; were I not perſuaded, that even after the diſſolution of this corporal part, ſomething of man ſtill remaineth, and that, when I leave you, I ſhall go to a juſt judge, and to a ſociety of men far better than any on the earth, I were inexcuſable for contemning death. But know ye, my friends, it is my hope, that I ſhall be permitted to ſee and conſort with the juſt and upright of former ages. And however that may be, yet of this at leaſt I am aſſured, that I ſhall return to the juſteſt and beſt of governors, and that this change, though fatal to the wicked, ſhall be found happy and glorious to the good. For there are two roads, and a twofold deſignation to ſouls, after their departure hence. Thoſe which have fallen from their uprightneſs, and have polluted themſelves with vice, are ſent by a dreary ſolitary way, ſecluded from the aſſembly of the gods. But the ſouls that have preſerved themſelves entire from the contagion of the body, imitating here below the lives of the immortals above, have an open way prepared for them, by which they ſhall return again to the ſupreme ſource of wiſdom and happineſs.'

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

AT the cloſe of this diſcourſe concerning the immortality of the ſoul, Crito aſked him, what directions he would give as to his children, and whether he had any thing to enjoin his friends. 'I leave you no injunction,' ſaid he, 'but what I have often laid upon you—that ye ſhould look well to yourſelves. In that caſe, whatever ye do,

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

'do, it will be acceptable to them that belong to 'me: but if ye neglect yourſelves and virtue, ye 'can do no acceptable ſervice to us, though ye 'ſhould promiſe ever ſo largely.'—'But how will 'you be buried?' continued Crito. 'As you 'think good,' replied he, 'provided you can 'manage not to let me ſlip away from you.' Then turning to Phædon and the reſt, he obſerved with a ſmile, 'I cannot perſuade Crito, that I 'who now ſpeak to you am any thing more than 'the corpſe which he will preſently behold; and 'therefore he aſks, how I will be buried. It 'ſeems, what I even now told him, that from 'hence I ſhall go to the joys of the bleſſed, has 'not yet obtained credit with him. But let it 'not be ſaid, that *Socrates* is carried to the grave; 'for ſuch a miſtake, my dear Crito, were a 'wrong to my ſoul. Be not therefore dejected: 'tell the world, my body only is buried; and 'that—after what manner you pleaſe.' He now retired into an inner room to bathe, that his body might not need any cleanſing when he ſhould be dead; and having bathed, he commanded his wife and children to be again brought in, diſcourſed with them ſome time, and took his laſt leave of them: after which, he returned to the philoſophers.

TOWARDS ſunſet, the ſervant of the Eleven came to acquaint him, 'that it was the hour for 'drinking the hemlock.' From the nature of his office, the buſineſs of executions was familiar to him; and yet ſo deeply was he affected by what he had ſeen of the deportment and meek carriage of Socrates during his confinement, that he was all in tears when he delivered his meſſage. 'How 'humane is this man!' remarked the philoſopher: 'I have found him the ſame all the time of 'my impriſonment. He often would viſit me,

'diſcourſe

'diſcourſe me, and always uſed me courteouſly: BOOK
'and now ſee how kindly he ſheds tears for me.' VIII.

WHEN the hemlock was ſufficiently brewed, Sect. 1.
Socrates took the bowl, not only without the leaſt diſcompoſure, but even with chearfulneſs, and looking on the executioner demanded, if it were not lawful to make a libation with part of it. The man anſwered, that he had only prepared enough for one potion: 'Yet,' ſaid the ſage, 'it is lawful, and it is my duty, to pray to the 'gods; and with all my ſoul do I beſeech them, 'that my paſſage hence may be happy.' Thus ſaying, he drank off the hemlock.

As ſoon as his diſciples ſaw that he had finiſhed the deadly draught, they could no longer refrain, but gave a looſe to immoderate grief, ſome of them roaring out aloud. 'For ſhame, my 'friends,' ſaid he; 'to prevent this, I ſent away 'the women. I have heard, that we ought to 'die with joy and gratulation. Compoſe your-'ſelves therefore, and bear this as becometh you.' This reproof forced them to ſuppreſs their tears. Having walked about a little, as the executioner had directed, and feeling his legs ſtiffen, he laid him down on the bed, and covering his face with his gown, remained for ſome time in ſilent meditation; but ſhortly after, raiſing himſelf, 'O 'Crito,' ſaid he, 'we owe a cock to Eſculapius, 'pay it, neglect it not.' Theſe were his laſt words, and in ſome few minutes after, he expired.

THUS died, ſaith Plato, the beſt, the wiſeſt, Bef. Chriſt
the moſt juſt of mankind; and ſafely may we add, 399.
the greateſt of the pagan world; a man far ſurpaſſing all that were called wiſe among the heathen in the times before him, and whom none of thoſe that followed ever equalled, even with the advantage

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

advantage of that body of light which he diſcovered and tranſmitted to them. In him it ſhould ſeem that providence meant to ſhew, what the mere ſtrength of man's reaſon could avail towards reſcuing human nature from its depraved condition, and reſtoring the dominion of truth and virtue. For he too had his doubts, and thoſe with reſpect to ſeveral material points: he himſelf confeſſed as much; he wiſhed for ſome better information, and ſpoke earneſtly, and in a kind of prophetic view, of ſome perſon to be ſent from heaven to inſtruct and guide mankind in the ways of truth. And certainly if theſe obſcurities and wants were felt and acknowledged by that acute, candid, ſedulous enquirer, by the owner of ſuch an underſtanding and ſuch a heart; if in Greece, in the midſt of Athens, a Socrates ſtood in need of further illumination; it cannot be deemed partiality to the true religion to affirm, that it has reſcued from a miſerable eſtate the ſimpler and more numerous part of the human race.

Plat. Alcib. 2.

A loss ſo important to the community was preſently followed by a proportionable ſhare of regret. All the wiſe and good of Athens were the firſt to lament the removal of this luminary. Plato was inconſolable. Iſocrates and the reſt of the philoſophers put on the deepeſt mourning. The whole company of his diſciples, ſoon as they had paid the laſt duties to their beloved maſter, retired to Megara, partly to avoid the place where they had ſeen him die, and partly to provide for their own ſecurity, whilſt calumny and bloody perſecution thus prevailed at Athens. Their flight was the firſt event, that led the Athenians to reflect on their late frenſy. Many things contributed to haſten their repentance. The lonely

ſilence,

ſilence, that ſeemed to have taken poſſeſſion of all the public places, where the inſtructive voice of Socrates was wont to be heard; the univerſal indignation of Greece at his unmerited fate; the behaviour of ſeveral externs, who came from different cities to hear him, and learning that he had ſuffered by the hands of his own citizens, would not ſo much as enter into Athens, but with paſſionate lamentations repaired to his ſepulchre without the walls, and affectionately kiſſed the very duſt that covered his remains: all theſe circumſtances concurring awakened the people of Athens to a ſenſe of their injuſtice, and turned their rage againſt his proſecutors. Melitus was put to death, without the formality of a trial. Anytus was baniſhed, and fleeing to Heraclea, was ſtoned there. And for the reſt who had been concerned in the wicked proſecution, in ſuch deteſtation were they held at Athens, that the citizens would not permit them to kindle fire at their houſes, or waſh in the ſame water, or exchange a queſtion with them; ſo that moſt of theſe unhappy wretches laid violent hands on themſelves. His diſciples alſo were invited back, and reſtored to their former liberty of meeting. All ſports and public ſpectacles were interdicted for a time: and ſuch an exceſſive ſorrow appeared among all ranks of men, that the magiſtrates thought it neceſſary to reſtrain it by an order, that the name of Socrates ſhould not be mentioned in the theatre, or in any place of public concourſe.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

One circumſtance in the life of this eminent perſon may appear ſomewhat difficult to be accounted for. He was known without queſtion to be an enemy to polytheiſm, and of courſe, to the intereſts of the Delphic god, or at leaſt of his prieſts and prophets. Whence then came it to

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

paſs, that by the voice of the Pythian oracle this ſame dangerous adverſary was pronounced to be *the wiſeſt of men?* The difficulty will probably find its true ſolution, if we ſuppoſe, that this extraordinary encomium on Socrates was dictated by the policy of the Delphic councils. They were deſirous of fixing among their votaries a man of his exalted character; and as none of the uſual inducements could take effect on *him*, who was neither haunted with guilty fears, nor ſuſceptible of a weak credulity, who neither courted office, nor was to be tempted by wealth; flattery, it was hoped, and the honour of the ſuffrage of the god, would gain him over. They failed: and perhaps the intrigues of this powerful prieſthood had no little ſhare in his condemnation.

SOCRATES committed not his doctrine to writing, content, through the whole of his uſeful career, with teaching by lively diſcourſe and active virtue. The accounts we have of him are principally from Xenophon and Plato, two of his diſciples, whoſe worth and undiſputed eminence in the ranks of literature are a proof, how great was the man, by whom they had been inſtructed, and of whom they ſpeak with ſuch reverence and admiration. Many other diſciples indeed he had, and various were the philoſophic ſects, formed, as they profeſſed, on the plan he had laid down; but moſt of them departed from the ſimplicity and integrity of their maſter, and in the place of his genuine amiableneſs of character, and natural method of inveſtigating truth, ſubſtituted a technical language and affected manners: ſo that whoever would know him well, muſt ſtudy him in the works of the two excellent writers above mentioned—Plato, the father of the Academic ſchool, whoſe happy genius, aſſiſted and ſublimed by the

leſſons

leſſons of the divine Socrates, has obtained to him a name, one of the moſt illuſtrious of antiquity—and Xenophon, in whom, it may be a queſtion, whether the ſage diſcerning philoſopher, the elegant hiſtorian, or the cool intrepid general, is moſt deſerving of our praiſe. BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

XENOPHON was not an eye witneſs of the laſt affecting ſcene of his beloved preceptor's life. He was, at the time of Socrates' death, a commander in the armies of Sparta, and engaged in an exploit, one of the boldeſt and beſt conducted that was ever carried into execution, the memorable retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks out of Aſia. As the conſequences of this event on the ſubſequent fortunes of Greece were important, the reader will think with us, that it deſerves a particular detail.

BOOK VIII.

SECTION II.

WE have mentioned already, that Darius Nothus, after having truſted, at the inſtance of his queen Paryſatis, his ſon, the young Cyrus, with the government of Aſia the Leſs, had found it neceſſary in a ſhort time to order him back to Suſa. The young prince was haughty and aſſuming, not to be contented with any ſhare of ſovereignty, ſhort of abſolute; of which temper he gave evidence by putting to death two princes of the royal blood, nephews to Darius, for no other crime but that of neglecting to cover their hands before him, a mark of reſpect appropriated by the cuſtom of Perſia to the King alone. However, the fond Paryſatis pleaded ſo forcibly in his behalf, that Darius forgave him. Shortly after, the king died. And, purſuant to his deſignation, his eldeſt ſon Artaxerxes Mnemon (the *Rememberer*, as he was called from his extraordinary

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 404.

BOOK VIII. extraordinary memory) ascended the throne of Persia.

Sect. 2. THE right of primogeniture appeared to Cyrus no just foundation for the preference thus given to his brother: he had been taught to expect the regal diadem from the interest of his mother, and the impotence of disappointed ambition prompted him to make an attempt on the life of Artaxerxes. Nevertheless, the intercession of Parysatis saved him again. Artaxerxes not only forgave him, but was even weak enough to continue him in the government of the Asiatic provinces.

CYRUS had now, besides the spur of his ambition, the galling remembrance of being indebted to the mercy of a hated rival; so that he carried to Sardis a firm purpose of revenge. In this view, he invited several Grecian officers to his court; he fixed them in his service, he treated them with distinguished confidence and affection; and partly by these arts of courtesy, partly by the means of Sparta, with which state he had long maintained a connection, he drew together a body
Bef. Christ 402. of thirteen thousand chosen Greeks. His other forces also he augmented under various pretences to the number of a hundred thousand, and putting himself at their head, he marched out from his government, as if he meant only to chastise some of the neighbouring provinces. At length, when matters appeared ripe for it, he disclosed his design to the army, who by dint of entreaties and splendid promises were persuaded to march on against the King.

Bef. Christ 401. ARTAXERXES was not unprepared. He had advice of his brother's approach, and met him with nine hundred thousand men at Cunaxa in the plain of Babylon. Notwithstanding the disproportion of numbers, victory seemed at first to incline

incline to the ſide of the prince. Already had the Greeks, with their accuſtomed proweſs, broken through and routed thoſe who were drawn up againſt them, when Cyrus perceiving his brother, took fire at the ſight, and crying out, 'I 'ſee him,' ruſhed impetuouſly through the midſt of the royal guards, ſlew their captain Artagerſes, and by a violent blow unhorſed the King himſelf, and brought him to the ground. Had he been here properly ſupported, that moment might in all probability have given him the wiſhed-for prize of empire. But ſome few only of his principal officers had followed him; the ſtrength of his army was engaged in other parts; and on every ſide he was encompaſſed by the king's ſervants. Artaxerxes alſo having recovered himſelf, diſcharged a javelin at his brother, which wounding him under the eye, he fell, and was ſlain inſtantly. Soon as thoſe with him ſaw they had loſt their maſter, they all killed themſelves. His men likewiſe, when they heard the news, laid down their arms, and ſubmitted, the Greeks only excepted. Theſe having ſuffered no defeat, thought themſelves entitled to require by a meſſage to the King, that it ſhould be permitted them to return home with ſafety and honour. A promiſe was accordingly held out to them, and obſerved at firſt with ſuch apparent fairneſs, that ſeveral of their commanders were tempted by the offer of a conference to put themſelves in the power of Tiſſaphernes, who immediately cut their throats. A behaviour ſo perfidious determined the auxiliary Greeks to renounce all treaty with the Barbarians, and to force their way back to their own country.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

NEVER was there a more daring project. They were to make good their retreat from a remote part

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

part of Aſia, in the face of a victorious army, through the midſt of hoſtile barbarous nations, acroſs deep and rapid rivers, and over mountains of difficult acceſs and ſtupendous height. Undiſmayed however by all theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, they choſe new generals one of whom was Xenophon) and ſet out on their intended march. After innumerable impediments and miſadventures, after various diſtreſſes, both from the length and difficulty of the way and the attacks open and ſecret of enemies, they at length effected their paſſage to Cotyora, a Grecian colony on the Euxine ſea, having employed one hundred and twenty-two days on the journey, and travelled upwards of two thouſand miles, Engliſh meaſure. When they reached the Euxine, they were reduced to the number of eight thouſand ſix hundred. There ended their march by land. At Cotyora they were furniſhed with ſhips; and paſſing on from thence, firſt to Thrace, and then to the Aſiatic coaſt, they enliſted under Thymbro the Lacedemonian, who was commiſſioned to carry on the war againſt the Perſian governors in thoſe parts. This ſurpriſing retreat, which diſcovered how little vigour there was in the huge overgrown body that ſuch a handful of men could triumph over, is ſaid to have pointed out to Alexander of Macedon the way to thoſe victories which have obtained him the name of Great. And doubtleſs to the inteſtine wars of Greece may it be aſcribed, that even long before Alexander's days, the unwieldy maſs of the Perſian empire was not laid in ruins. But to our hiſtory.

Bef. Chriſt 400.

THE ambitious enterpriſe of Cyrus was attended with conſequences, that were felt ſeverely by the Greeks of Aſia. Their connections with that prince being well known, they found themſelves

ſelves expoſed to the inſults both of Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus. The former Satrap eſpecially, to whom, in reward for his ſervices, the government had been conſigned of the provinces late the appanage of young Cyrus, omitted no opportunity of gratifying his own reſentments, as well as the revenge of the King, by making incurſions into the Grecian territories. Thymbro therefore had orders from Sparta to protect the Ionians; but not acting with the vigour that was expected, he was, recalled to make room for Dercyllidas. Bef. Chriſt 399. This leader managed with ſo much better ſucceſs, that in the ſpace of two years he obliged the ſatraps to conclude a treaty with him, by which it was ſtipulated, 'that the Grecian cities ſhould 'enjoy their liberties unmoleſted, provided the 'Spartans withdrew from the parts of Aſia under 'their juriſdiction: the treaty to ſubſiſt, till it 'was ratified or diſavowed by the Perſian king and 'the ſtate of Sparta.'

FROM Dercyllidas the command was transferred to king Ageſilaus, the brother and ſucceſſor of Agis. This laſt had left a ſon, whoſe birth being queſtionable from the intimacy of the queen his mother with Alcibiades, he was ſet aſide to make room for Ageſilaus. Bef. Chriſt 396. With many ſingular advantages did Ageſilaus aſcend the throne of Sparta. He had lived ſeveral years a private man, removed from the expectation of a crown. He had been educated in all the rigour of Lycurgus' diſcipline, without any of thoſe ſofter indulgences, which Sparta injudiciouſly permitted to the eldeſt ſons of her kings. Hence from his earlieſt days he was inured to fatigue, to danger, to difficulty; vigorous of body, and patient of ſoul; aſpiring, and earneſt in purſuit of glory, he was yet inviolably attached to the laws, and ſtrictly obſervant

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. obſervant of the commands, of his country. Thus qualified, it is not ſurpriſing, that victory followed his ſtandard, till he had brought the Perſian monarchy almoſt to the brink of ruin. None of the king's lieutenants were able to check his progreſs; moſt of the cities of Leſſer Aſia were his; and the confuſion and diſcontent, that prevailed in the more diſtant provinces, threatened a general defection; when, in his full career of glory, he was obliged to abandon the inviting proſpect, and to return to Greece.

PERSIAN gold was the engine that effected this change of affairs. Tiſſaphernes, it ſeems. for his want of ſucceſs in oppoſing the Spartan, had been murdered by order of his ſovereign; and Tithrauſtes, who ſucceeded him in his government, apprehenſive of a ſimilar fate, ſent an agent into Greece to ſpirit up a confederacy againſt Sparta. This agent had directions to ſpare neither money nor promiſes in the courſe of a negociation, to which the preſent diſpoſition of the Grecian ſtates gave conſiderable encouragement. Sparta had uſed her preponderancy in the ſcale of Greece with ſo little management, that the Bœotians, the Corinthians, and the Argives readily engaged to unite in war againſt her. The Athenians wanted not the inducement of bribery to enter into the aſſociation againſt a ſtate, which had made them endure ſo large a meaſure of ſuffering. Alarmed at this league, the Spartans immediately marched into Bœotia, under the conduct of Lyſander, where, in a pitched battle with the allies at Haliartus, they were defeated with the loſs of their commander. Pauſanias, the Spartan king, who was to have ſupported Lyſander, coming up after the action, and not daring to diſpute the victory, concluded a truce with the

enemy, on condition Lyſander's body ſhould be reſtored to him; for which ignominious behaviour he atoned with the loſs of his crown, being obliged to retire to Tegea, where he died. BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

IN this manner terminated the buſy ambition of Lyſander, a man one of the moſt extraordinary of his time, of uncommon abilities, and as to money, of unblemiſhed integrity; but daring in the purſuit of power, and inſatiable in his deſires of it. His reducing the ſeveral cities, conquered by the Spartan arms at the cloſe of the Peloponneſian war, under his own controul, by lodging the ſupreme authority in the hands of his dependants, was a ſtroke of policy which might have unhinged the Spartan government, had not Pauſanias, and Ageſilaus alſo, perceived the tendency, and counteracted his deſigns. Failing in this plan, he formed a bolder: in order to make himſelf a way to the throne, he ſuborned the Pythian oracle to declare the regal ſucceſſion open to all the branches of the Heraclidean family. But death put an end to his projects.

THE war in Greece ſo far anſwered the purpoſes of Tithrauſtes, that the *ſcytale of revocation* was ſent from Sparta to Ageſilaus. Mean time Ariſtodemus, tutor to Ageſipolis, who had been advanced to the kingdom in the room of his father Pauſanias, engaged the confederates at Sicyon, and defeated them. Soon after, Ageſilaus, having with wonderful expedition haſtened back into Greece, entered Bœotia, and joined battle with the enemy at Coronea. The diſpute here was extremely ſharp and bloody; Ageſilaus himſelf was wounded, and obtained a dear bought victory. On the other hand, the Spartan fortunes were declining greatly in Aſia. Their fleets, which lay off Cnidus, were deſtroyed by Conon Bef. Chriſt 394.

the

BOOK VIII. the Athenian and Pharnabazus, their admiral Piſander loſing his life in the engagement.

Sect. 2. OF Conon we have already ſpoken. From the day of Ægos-potamos he had lived in exile, chiefly under the protection of Evagoras king of Cyprus; but when the war broke out between Artaxerxes and Sparta, he found means ſo far to ingratiate himſelf at the Perſian court, that he was aſſociated with Pharnabazus in the command of the Perſian fleet. Not contented with having broken at Cnidus the naval power of Sparta, he aimed, under pretence of ſerving Artaxerxes, to reſtore empire to his country. He therefore reduced the Grecian cities of Aſia, and the ſeveral iſlands of the Ægean ſea, obliging them to renounce all confederacy with Sparta; then paſſing over to Peloponneſus, he ſpread deſolation along the coaſts of Laconia. Theſe exploits performed, he reviſited his native land, which he found in the ſtate of humiliation and miſery wherein Lyſander had left her, her walls demoliſhed, her fortifications waſte. Conon formed the generous deſign of re-eſtabliſhing this once glorious city, and repaired her breaches with the ſpoils of the very enemy that wrought her overthrow. Thus by a ſtrange fate, as Sparta had by Perſian aid ſubdued Athens, ſo now was Athens by Perſian aid delivered again from the yoke of Sparta.

Bef. Chriſt 393.

THIS return of ſplendor was alſo heightened by the ſucceſſes of Iphicrates. Iphicrates was a young Athenian, diſtinguiſhed by his military capacity, and famed in hiſtory on account of the happy improvement he introduced with reſpect to the form of the Athenian arms. On the preſent occaſion, he was employed in defending Corinth againſt the attempts of Ageſilaus; and that experienced chief had the mortification to ſee himſelf foiled by a general,

general, who was only entering into the liſts of war. BOOK VIII.

BUT it is time to relieve the reader from a detail, neither intereſting nor amuſing, of the ſeveral engagements in which Greece bled, during this period of hoſtility and confuſion. At length Sparta, waſted in ſtrength, and diminiſhed in her empire, had recourſe to the Perſians: a deputation was ſent to Teribazus, Satrap of Sardis, through Antalcidas, than whom certainly there never was a miniſter better fitted for ſuch an embaſſy. Antalcidas was a Spartan in name only, ſoft and luxurious in his manners, accompliſhed in all the arts of adulation, and in ſervility a match for the moſt fawning ſycophant of Aſia. His firſt ſtep was to procure the deſtruction of Conon: by dint of inſinuation that he had ſacrificed the intereſts of Artaxerxes to thoſe of Athens, he procured that gallant officer to be laid in chains, who, it is generally believed, was ſhortly after put to death. The Spartan then opened his commiſſion: 'he was come in the 'name of his country to ſue for the favour and 'protection of the Great King, and was ready 'to ſubmit to any terms that monarch would 'deign to impoſe, provided Sparta ruled in 'Greece, and Athens and her allies were 'humbled'. Soon as the confederates had notice of this application, they alſo ſent miniſters to Sardis, where Teribazus, proud of ſeeing homage paid to him by the embaſſadors of ſo many illuſtrious ſtates, artfully prolonged their attendance for upwards of a year, alledging every day ſome new difficulty, and waiting, as he pretended, for farther inſtructions from Suſa. Sect. 2.

AFTER many delays and various contumelies of this kind, at laſt the commands of the Perſian monarch Bef. Chriſt 387.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. monarch were made known to the Grecians. 'The ſeveral powers at war were ordered to 'lay down their arms. All the cities of Aſia, 'with the iſlands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, 'were adjudged to Artaxerxes. Whatever ſtates 'were held in ſubjection by any Grecian power, 'were diſcharged, and left in poſſeſſion of their 'original liberties, Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros 'excepted, which from time immemorial had 'been under the dominion of Athens. And if 'any refuſed to accept of theſe terms of peace, 'they were to be compelled to it by force.'

THE reader will pauſe here for a moment to reflect, how different were theſe ignominious injunctions from the treaty in Cimon's days, when the ſecurity and liberty of Grecian Aſia was the glorious condition. He will ſee now, what corrupted manners and inteſtine war had brought on —Ionia, and all the adjacent colonies, betrayed —the ſovereignty of Perſia acknowledged—and Greece yielding herſelf up to ſervility and dependance! To one article of this reproachful peace it may be thought moſt extraordinary that Sparta ſhould have acceded, that for emancipating all the cities of Greece, and rendering them back their former privileges: yet was this a ſtroke of deep policy. Far from intending any benefit by it to her neighbours, Sparta hoped by the help of this very engine to erect herſelf an empire on the ruins of Greece. It was known to all, that in their infancy the Grecian ſtates had been ſmall and inconſiderable. In time, aſſociations were made; a view to mutual ſecurity drew ſeveral of the petty ſovereignties together: others the chance of war had incorporated; one ſtate more powerful than the reſt having obliged the adjoining ſtates to become its ſubjects, to unite in one intereſt,

intereſt, and ſubmit to one form of government. The greater cities likewiſe had grown up from a confederacy of villagers, who quitting their defenceleſs hamlets, agreed to build to themſelves places of ſtrength, where they ſhould form an undivided community. The ſtate of Sparta therefore, under the ſpecious character of protectreſs of liberty and guardian of the public peace, ſought to diſſolve theſe eſtabliſhments, to the end that, by crumbling the more powerful bodies into minute and feeble tribes, ſhe might leave them all open to inſult and oppreſſion.

TRIAL was firſt made on the Mantineans. The Lacedemonians required, that they ſhould abandon their hearths and temples, and canton themſelves in villages, after the manner of living practiſed by their forefathers. On their refuſal, war was declared againſt them; their city was demoliſhed, and the inhabitants were diſperſed. After them, the other neighbouring ſtates underwent a ſimilar treatment. Even the Corinthians were compelled to withdraw their garriſons from the places they had taken; neither were the Thebans ſuffered to retain their ſupremacy over the cities of Bœotia. And yet Sparta alone, while ſhe thus diſmembered every other commonwealth, was to preſerve her dominions and uſurped territories entire: Meſſenia was ſtill in ſubjection, and the nation of the Helotæ held in ſervitude. Indeed for the preſent a like indulgence was extended alſo to Athens, the Lacedemonians thinking it prudent to leave that ſtate unattempted, till the ſtrength of the reſt of Greece ſhould be completely broken. Bef. Chriſt 385.

SUCCESSFUL in this firſt act of injuſtice, Sparta ſoon proceeded to a ſecond and more flagrant one. She had ſent an army, under the orders of Eudamidas, Bef. Chriſt 381.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. Eudamidas, to chaſtiſe the Olynthians, a people of Chalcidice, ſituated on the Toronean gulph, whoſe power and enterpriſing genius threatened the liberties of all the nations in thoſe parts; and ſoon after Phœbidas, the brother of Eudamidas, was commanded to follow with an additional body of forces. This officer's way lay by Thebes, which city at that time was divided into two parties, one in the intereſts of Sparta, headed by Leontiades; the other engaged in ſupporting the independence and dignity of the Theban government, of which Iſmenias was the chief. The march of the Spartan army appeared to Leontiades a favourable opportunity for getting the better of his antagoniſts; and as the ambitious have not much delicacy in the choice of means, he offered to betray the citadel Cadmea into the hands of Phœbidas, an offer which Phœbidas with as little delicacy accepted. Such an open violation of faith occaſioned the utmoſt indignation. Complaint was immediately made to Sparta; but juſtice had now little influence in the Spartan councils. A ſmall ſacrifice indeed was made to appearances by recalling and fining the aggreſſor Phœbidas; while, with a ridiculous and inſolent inconſiſtency, the Cadmea was retained, and the ſway of Thebes permitted to the traitor Leontiades in conjunction with two other of the creatures of Lacedemon. The conſequence was a total ſubverſion of the Theban liberties, and the introduction of every ill annexed to a government that muſt be ſupported by oppreſſion. Iſmenias was condemned to death for ſome pretended offence; and of the reſt of the citizens, all they whoſe probity and ſpirit rendered them formidable to the tyrants, were obliged to flee from their country.

Of this number was Pelopidas. Diſtinguiſhed by the advantages of birth and fortune, but yet more by his unblemiſhed virtue, of dauntleſs mind, great in military ſkill, and an avowed enemy to arbitrary power, it is not ſurpriſing that the tyrants ſhould mark out this illuſtrious character as the peculiar object of perſecution. He fled therefore, with ſeveral more of his countrymen, into Attica; for the Athenians now remembered, and retaliated to the afflicted Thebans, the kindneſs they had received from Thebes in the day of Lyſander's power. Security however did not render Pelopidas inactive, or forgetful of the diſtreſſed condition of his country. Having concerted a plan with ſuch of thoſe in Thebes as might ſafely be depended on, and encouraged by a promiſe of aſſiſtance from Athens, he and ſome few more of the exiles ſtole privately into Thebes, made their way even to the apartment where Archias and Philip, two of the tyrants, were giving a looſe to revelling and joy at a banquet, and ſlew them both; proceeding thence to the houſe of Leontiades, they forced it open, and killed him alſo. With the tyrants fell moſt of their creatures, and the miniſters of their crimes: they were ſacrificed to the public vengeance. Yet nothing appeared to have been done, while the Spartans remained in poſſeſſion of Cadmea. The garriſon at firſt made a ſhew of reſiſtance; but intimidated by the approach of the forces from Athens, as well as by the reſolute appearance of the Thebans themſelves, who crouded from every ſide to the banners of the patriot chiefs, they ſoon made terms with the beſiegers, and Thebes ſaw herſelf freed from the galling yoke of ſervitude.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 377.

Mean time exertions had not been wanting on the ſide of Sparta to counteract this generous en-

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

terprise of Pelopidas. Cleombrotus, who, on the death of his brother Agesipolis in the Olynthian expedition, had succeeded to the throne, hastened to the relief of Cadmea. The garrison he met on their way homeward: probably had they been less early in capitulating, that citadel had not so easily been wrested out of the hands of the Spartans. Notwithstanding, Cleombrotus marched on towards Thebes. And now, in the opinion of all Greece, was that unfortunate city doomed to inevitable destruction: her allies abandoned her; even the Athenians drew off their troops, and disavowed all connection with the Theban people; and the utmost force Pelopidas could muster seemed, with respect to Sparta, of little significancy. Greece knew not, that Thebes in one of her citizens had a strength equal to any the Spartans could bring against her. Epaminondas was the man.

His breast was the residence of every virtue that commands admiration and respect: he was fortunate in giving to his mind the high culture of philosophy, which he had learned from the instructions of Lysis, one of the most celebrated disciples of Pythagoras. The use he made of these advantages was to shun notice and honours as industriously, as the bulk of men pursue them. Though of noble extraction, his circumstances were narrow: but his poverty sat easy on him. He delighted in the privacy and innocent peace a scanty fortune afforded him; and contemplation, frugality, and content supplied him with a happiness such as wealth has not the power of giving. To this love of retreat he owed the security he enjoyed under the government of the late tyrants. During the four years those wicked men triumphed, the virtuous Epaminondas lived in Thebes unmolested,

unmoleſted, his obſcurity and humble manners placing him out of the reach of ſuſpicion. From his youth he had been nearly connected with Pelopidas: thoſe two excellent men loved each other with a degree of friendſhip only to be found between perſons of exalted virtue. Epaminondas was appriſed of the ſeveral ſchemes deviſed by his friend when in baniſhment, and aſſiſted him with his counſels: yet not by any means could he be prevailed on to be an actor in the tragedy which put an end to the Spartan uſupation. Such an enterpriſe, he thought, could not be executed without much effuſion of blood, and probably the innocent and the guilty might be confounded together. He dreaded the exceſs of cruelty which generally diſgraces attempts of this kind, the furious reſentment of a people deeply injured, the rage of civil hatred, and the inſults of a licentious ſoldiery. Such was Epaminondas. In the late commotions of Greece he had appeared in arms, and had appeared with honour; but the oppreſſions of Sparta having put an end to all martial ſtruggle, he retired to the tranquil ſhade of a philoſophic life, from which the diſtreſs of his country, and the proſpect of a fair open war, now called him forth to unſheath his ſword againſt the deſolaters of Greece.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

UNDER the influence of theſe two excellent men, the Theban affairs quickly aſſumed a brighter aſpect. The very genius of the Theban people ſeemed now to be improved and exalted; and they who lately trembled before the power of Sparta, diſcovered in themſelves ability and ſpirit to check her progreſs. Cleombrotus was oppoſed, baffled, repulſed: he renewed his attempts, he laid waſte a part of the Theban territory, but found himſelf in the end obliged to return without

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. ſucceſs to Sparta, after committing the care of the army to Sphodrias. Thebes, however, ſtood as yet alone in this hazardous war. Her ſtateſmen deviſed the means of forcing Athens into a confederacy with her.

A TRUSTY Theban was employed, under a fictitious character, to introduce himſelf into the Spartan camp, which at this time lay in the neighbourhood of Theſpiæ. His buſineſs was, to engage Sphodrias to attempt the Piræan harbour. 'He had now', he told that officer, 'the faireſt 'opportunity of performing an important ſervice 'to his country; ſuch a pledge would ſecure the 'faith of Athens; the way to the Piræus was 'ſhort, and under cover of the night he might 'eaſily march thither, and ſurpriſe it.' Sphodrias, a man inconſiderate, and fond of adventure, readily embraced the project. But unluckily for him, before he reached Athens, the day dawned, as Epaminondas expected. The Athenians were alarmed; and Sphodrias, vexed at his diſappointment, revenged himſelf by ravaging the Attic borders. When complaint and a demand of ſatisfaction were made at Sparta, the influence of king Ageſilaus ſaved his friend Sphodrias from the condemnation he juſtly deſerved. Theſe unworthy proceedings diſſolved all confidence between Athens and Sparta. Avowed hoſtilities were thought preferable to a perfidious peace; and Chabrias the Athenian was ordered to join the Bœotians.

Bef. Chriſt. 376. AGESILAUS, the ambitious Ageſilaus, on whom, moſt hiſtorians agree, the whole guilt of theſe ruinous wars is to be charged, determined to take on him the command in Bœotia, in the hope of reſtoring the Spartan fortune. His abilities and military character have been often noticed. He

was

was unqueſtionably one of the beſt generals of the age, and had beſides at this time a force in the field that far outnumbered that of the enemy. Yet neither his ſkill nor his ſuperior numbers availed againſt the bravery and conduct of the oppoſite leaders. His projects were fruſtrated, his troops routed on ſeveral occaſions, and at laſt he himſelf received a dangerous wound. So that, as Plutarch finely obſerves, proof was now given, that martial ſpirit is not confined either to climate or people, and that not on the banks of the Eurotas only warriors are formed; they are to be found in whatever ſoil the youth are taught to be aſhamed of things baſe, and to be daring in the ſervice of virtue; wherever the leaſt diſgrace is accounted a juſter object of apprehenſion than the greateſt danger: and ſuch, at this period, was the happy ſtate of the Theban people.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

To get rid of an unſucceſsful war, Sparta had recourſe to the ſame arts ſhe had before employed: the authority of Artaxerxes was called in to compoſe the troubles of Greece. It ſeems the Perſian, who meditated war on Egypt, and was beſides a friend to the Lacedemonians, demanded Grecian auxiliaries, under pretence of which, the ſeveral powers were required to deſiſt from their private quarrels. A general convention therefore of the Grecian ſtates was appointed to be held at Sparta, where Epaminondas with the other deputies from Thebes accordingly appeared. Ageſilaus, in the full ſpirit of that plan he had conceived for eſtabliſhing Sparta ſovereign over the reſt of Greece, now urged again, as an eſſential article of the peace, a propoſal made long before; 'that the 'ſeveral Grecian cities ſhould be declared free, 'and independent on each other; that all the 'Bœotians ſhould be reinſtated in their rights, 'and

Bef. Chriſt 375.

Bef. Chriſt 371.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

'and enfranchiſed from all kind of ſubjection to 'the Theban commonwealth, which ſhould be 'called upon to rebuild whatever cities ſhe had de-'moliſhed, and to reſtore to every people the 'territories that originally appertained to them.'

THE aim of this wily propoſal did not eſcape the penetration of Epaminondas. He anſwered reſolutely, 'that it was not from Thebes the 'liberties of Greece were moſt in danger. 'Sparta was the object they had to dread; that 'ambitious republic, who was continually en-'larging her territories by unjuſt invaſion, and 'who held every ſtate around her in ſervile de-'pendence. To ſecure a laſting peace therefore, 'let this exorbitant power be reduced; let Sparta 'ſhew an example of moderation, by withdraw-'ing within her antient frontier.' The hearts of all the deputies went along with the generous advocate of liberty; but the fear of Sparta prevailed over them. Ageſilaus took advantage of their timidity, and raiſing his voice, 'Say then,' reſumed he, 'Epaminondas, is it juſt and right, 'that the cities of Bœotia ſhould be free?'—'And you, Ageſilaus,' anſwered the gallant Theban, 'ſay, is it juſt and right the cities of 'Laconia ſhould be free?' The proud Ageſilaus could refrain no longer: 'I exclude,' ſaid he, 'the Thebans from this treaty of peace'—and with theſe words, ſtruck the name of Thebes out of the treaty that lay before him.

Bef. Chriſt 370.

WITH all poſſible diligence did Epaminondas and the ſix other Bœotarchs prepare to meet the threatened war from the Spartans, whom Cleombotus was commanded to lead into Bœotia, to the number of eleven thouſand men. The Theban forces did not exceed ſix thouſand: but all was now at ſtake, and no choice remained to Epaminondas

nondas but to march out and meet the enemy. Many circumſtances ill-boding, according to the opinion of thoſe days, being obſerved to attend their outſet, wrought ſo on the Thebans (a ſuperſtitious people) that ſeveral of them earneſtly requeſted of Epaminondas not to proceed. The generous patriot, who ſaw his country was irrecoverably loſt if he retreated, made anſwer out of Homer, as he marched on,

——*His ſword the brave man draws,* Il. 12. 243.
And aſks no omen but his country's cauſe.

However, he ſought how to efface theſe melancholy impreſſions by prodigies of an oppoſite tendency, employing againſt ſuperſtition the aid of ſuperſtition herſelf. Some of his friends, who left Thebes after the departure of the army, had inſtructions to ſay, 'the armour of Hercules 'had diſappeared, and the prieſts had declared, 'that the god was gone to fight for the city of 'his nativity.' The ſoothſayers gave out, 'that 'divine vengeance awaited the Spartans at the 'tombs of the daughters of Scedaſus at Leuctra,' maidens, who in time of old had been violated by certain Spartans, and on account of their injured modeſty had killed themſelves in the very place where Cleombrotus was encamped; nor had the crime been ever expiated. From the cave of Trophonius alſo word was brought, 'that the 'Thebans were to inſtitute games in honour of 'Jupiter, as ſoon as they ſhould have obtained 'the victory at Leuctra.' Encouraged by theſe and other ſimilar aſſurances, the army moved on, reſolute to engage the hoſt of Sparta, though now ſtrengthened by an acceſſion of two thouſand allies under the command of Archidamus.

It is beyond queſtion, that the ſucceſs of this memorable battle, in which the Thebans triumphed

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

umphed over ſo great a ſuperiority of numbers, was principally owing to the admirable ſkill of Epaminondas in marſhalling his troops. His choſen men he placed, fifty deep, in his left wing, oppoſite to that in which Cleombrotus fought; and having ordered his right wing to retreat as the other advanced, he bore down on the enemy point-wiſe, like the beak of a galley. The force and weight of ſuch a column was irreſiſtible. The Lacedemonians were preſently broken, and the Thebans pouring in, ſoon completed the confuſion. In this attack Cleombrotus was ſlain, and with him the braveſt of his men, the loſs amounting to five thouſand, of which one thouſand were citizens of Sparta, and the flower of the Spartan nation. It was a deciſive blow, not leſs effectual in reducing the power of Sparta, than in fixing on a firm baſis the independence of Thebes. To Epaminondas it gave indeed an uncommon meaſure of glory. He had repreſſed tyranny; he had ſaved his country; he had raiſed a low, afflicted, diſpirited people to the foremoſt place of honour in Greece. And yet that excellent man was wont to ſay, he eſteemed it the choiceſt part of his glory, that his father and mother were yet living to partake of the joy and credit of his ſucceſs. It is a matter of no eaſy determination, whether the ſon or the general is moſt entitled to our eſteem.

THE news of this diſaſter reached Sparta, as the Ephori were ſuperintending the gymnic ſports: yet they continued the ſolemnity, and ſent privately to the families that had loſt their friends the names of thoſe who had fallen in the battle. The enſuing day, the fathers and relations of the ſlain appeared in public, congratulating each other, and applauding the gallant behaviour of their

their children and kinſmen. Such in general were the Spartan manners: and probably alſo on this occaſion, whatever they felt, their pride aſſiſted them in concealing it. Nevertheleſs, how great they eſteemed their loſs to be, appears from the following circumſtance. By the laws of Sparta, the man that fled in battle was declared incapable of ever ſerving his country more. But, in this caſe, as many as had eſcaped the Theban ſword, had ſaved themſelves by flight. And if Sparta was to be deprived of all theſe, how deplorable was her condition! The deciſion therefore was referred to Ageſilaus, who wiſely decreed in favour of the diſgraced citizens. 'For this 'day,' pronounced he, 'be the laws ſuſpended: 'to-morrow let them reſume their vigour.' In the place of Cleombrotus, his ſon Ageſipolis was appointed king. But he only reigned one year, and was ſucceeded by Cleomenes his brother.

A PEACE ſoon after followed, but a peace of ſhort continuance. The Spartans began again to moleſt the Arcadians, and the ſolicitations of that diſtreſſed people furniſhed the Thebans with a pretence for entering Peloponneſus. Their army now amounted to forty thouſand men, beſides thirty thouſand adventurers who followed the camp for plunder: ſo greatly had ſucceſs encreaſed the number of the Theban auxiliaries. At the head of this army, which they divided into four bodies, Epaminondas and Pelopidas broke into Laconia at four ſeveral places at once, rendezvouſed at Sellacia, where they gave Ageſilaus the ſlip, who was preparing to offer them battle, and purſued their march with fire and ſword to Sparta. Bef. Chriſt 369. Bef. Chriſt 368.

THE approach of the Theban army threw the inhabitants into the deepeſt conſternation. And now

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. now did that proud city, which for many ages had not known an enemy to advance near it, and whoſe boaſt it was, 'that the Spartan matrons 'never had beheld the ſmoke of an hoſtile camp,' ſee deſtruction impending over it. The inſtant Ageſilaus had intelligence of the danger, he flew to the relief of Sparta, and got into the city: but the Thebans ſtill preſſed on. Epaminondas himſelf, in defiance of the king, threw himſelf into the Eurotas, though ſwelled with the winter ſnows, ſwam over, and attacked the very ſuburbs, which he ſet in a blaze; whilſt Ageſilaus, contented with defending the more important paſſes, remained entrenched within. After having thus for ſeveral days made the Spartans feel the horrors of war, and the diſtreſſes of an invaded deſolated country, Epaminondas drew off his troops. Whether it was, that he queſtioned the event, ſhould he have attempted to take the place by ſtorm; or whether, as moſt hiſtorians are of opinion, the glory of this antient city, renowned for the greatneſs of its exploits and the excellence of its laws—the loſs which Greece itſelf muſt have ſuſtained, ſhould ſuch a commonwealth have been cut off—the indignation and reproach, to which the Thebans muſt have been expoſed for this act of cruelty—did altogether, or ſeverally, arreſt the uplifted hand of the conqueror.

His next exploit was of an oppoſite nature. Meſſenia, the country of the admired Ariſtomenes, was ſtill in ſubjection, her cities waſte, her people in bondage, or ſcattered in diſtant countries. More than two hundred years had now elapſed, ſince this diſaſter had fallen upon the Meſſenians. Epaminondas recalled home the remains of that diſperſed people; he reſtored them to the poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of the territories their anceſtors had enjoyed, he built them a city, he ſtrengthened it with walls, he gave them a garriſon for their defence, and bleſt them with liberty and independence; leaving thus behind him a laſting monument of the humanity and juſtice of Thebes, as well as a firm rampart againſt the power of Sparta. He then prepared to return home. The Athenians and Corinthians (for now both thoſe ſtates were in league with Sparta) waited to intercept him. But the Athenians having neglected the principal defile, Epaminondas paſſed on, and falling on the Corinthians, who had fortified themſelves in the Iſthmus, he forced their lines, routed and purſued them to the gates of Corinth.

INSTEAD however of being welcomed home with the exultations of their countrymen after an expedition of ſo much ſplendor, Epaminondas and Pelopidas experienced the effects of that narrow jealouſy, the common misfortune of republican governments. They were accuſed of having acted in contravention to the laws, and were proſecuted for it with the utmoſt vigour. It ſeems, the two friends, unwilling to quit Peloponneſus till Sparta was completely humbled, had retained the command of the army beyond the time appointed them; an offence which certain of their countrymen, envious of a merit they could not equal, purſued capitally, under cover of vindicating the injured majeſty of the laws. Pelopidas met the charge with a ſpirited indignation. He laid open to the people the dark malicious arts, by which theſe ſons of calumny ſought to miſlead them. He then boldly upbraided the Thebans in general with ingratitude in receiving impreſſions to the detriment of their beſt friends, of men who had expoſed their lives in their defence,

BOOK VIII. fence, and laboured with no other view but to make them free and happy.

Sect. 2. EPAMINONDAS was more calm. 'If,' he told them, 'it was the will of his country that he 'ſhould expiate his offence by death, he ſubmit-'ted chearfully to her ſentence. One requeſt 'only he had to offer; that upon his tomb ſhould 'be inſcribed the cauſe for which he ſuffered— 'Let poſterity be told that I ſuffered capital in-'fliction, *becauſe I rendered the Theban arms vic-'torious at Leuctra; becauſe I ſaved my expiring 'country, and aſſerted the liberties of Greece; 'becauſe I led my countrymen to the ſuburbs of 'Sparta, ſpreading terror and deſolation through 'the borders of that unjuſt people; becauſe I raiſed 'Meſſenia from her ruins, and confined the Lacede-'monians within narrower limits.*' The keen temper of this reply ſo greatly overmatched all the weapons of the adverſe party, that the judges departed out of the aſſembly without ſo much as giving their ſuffrages. Some time after, the fomenters of theſe dangerous contentions ſuffered the puniſhment they deſerved: among the reſt, Meneclides, whoſe intrigues had urged on the proſecution, was forced into baniſhment.

THEBES was now at the height of her glory. Enjoying the fruits of her victories, an honourable peace at home, admiration and reſpect abroad; her finances encreaſed, her territories enlarged, her allies numerous; ſhe was become the patroneſs of liberty, the avenger of the wrongs of oppreſſed nations. To her protection the people of Illyricum, of Macedonia, of Theſſaly had recourſe. Even the Perſian monarch courted her favour. Pelopidas had been ſent ambaſſador to the court of Suſa, and of all the Grecian miniſters not one was treated with ſo much diſtinction: the Thebans were

were declared the friends and allies of Artaxerxes and his houſe for ever; their acquiſitions were confirmed to them, their empire confeſſed, the freedom of Meſſenia acknowledged. Conſiderable as theſe advantages were, it was the object of Epaminondas to augment them by the addition of one more important, by joining a power at ſea to the dominion his country had acquired by land. In this view he built a fleet of an hundred gallies, he concluded a league with ſome of the moſt powerful of the Grecian iſlands; and probably, had his days been prolonged, even in this plan, to which the mediterranean ſituation of Thebes gave no encouragement, he might have ſucceeded.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

MEAN while, Sparta made but weak efforts towards recovering the ſuperiority ſhe had loſt. Peace ſhe had not with Thebes, and on ſome occaſions ſhe attempted a kind of oppoſition to her power: but her infirm ſtrength would not admit of vigorous meaſures. Her arms were chiefly employed againſt her Arcadian neighbours; and ſo low was her preſent condition, that every victory ſhe obtained in this inſignificant war was accounted a glorious triumph. The Athenians were the only allies, on whom ſhe had ſure dependance. Theſe two ſtates, both of them depreſſed by the aggrandiſement of Thebes, and impatient of this newly erected empire, were united together in intereſts and reſentments. Forgetful of their old animoſities, they now ſaw not any thing in each other that ſhould provoke either fear or envy. And hence did Sparta by ſolemn treaty concede the dominion of the ſeas to Athens, and Athens as ſincerely engaged to ſupport and defend Sparta. Bef. Chriſt 366.

SUCH

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, when the Tegeans, oppreſſed by them of Mantinea, applied to Thebes for protection, and had their ſuit immediately granted. Pelopidas at this time was no more. He had fallen in Theſſaly, in battle againſt Alexander tyrant of Pheræ. The crimes of that wicked uſurper had reached the ear of the Thebans, who in pity to the miſeries of his people had, after ſome ineffectual remonſtrances, commiſſioned Pelopidas to reduce him by force of arms. The Theban general had alſo his private wrongs to incite him. He had been caſt into priſon by the perfidious Alexander, in contempt of his ſacred character, when on an embaſſy to him from Thebes, and might probably have periſhed in a dungeon, had not Epaminondas by an irruption into Theſſaly compelled the uſurper to ſet him at liberty. Fired by the remembrance of this injury, Pelopidas gladly ſeized the opportunity of revenge, the gratification of which he purſued with ſo little diſcretion, that he paid for it at the price of his life: he met the tyrant in battle, and purſuing him into the midſt of his guards, was ſlain, before the Thebans could come up to his aſſiſtance. But though Pelopidas was not, yet did the Theban vigour ſtill ſubſiſt in Epaminondas. And he was ordered to advance into Peloponneſus.

Bef. Chriſt 363.

Bef. Chriſt 362.

THIS expedition revived the alarms and jealouſies of the newly aſſociated ſtates, who receiving the Mantineans into their alliance, and pretending fears for the liberties of Arcadia, ſet themſelves to oppoſe the Theban commander. Epaminondas, ſenſible of the importance of the war, called forth all his ſtrength of genius to ſupport the reputation he had earned. Whatever the ability of a general could deviſe, or the activity and bravery of the ſoldier could execute, was put in practice—

marches,

marches, countermarches, deep ſtratagems, bold enterpriſes. Nevertheleſs, his proſperous fortune ſeemed to have forſaken him. He thought to intercept the Athenians on their way from Athens, and was diſappointed. He attempted Sparta, and was repulſed. He miſcarried in an endeavour to ſurpriſe Mantinea. His enemies alſo were encreaſing in number; and the term drew nigh when his commiſſion was to expire. Theſe conſiderations determined him to ſtake all on the iſſue of a battle, the opportunity for which ſoon preſented itſelf.

THE Spartans and their allies covered Mantinea; the Thebans were encamped on an adjacent hill. Epaminondas draws out his men in view of the enemy, takes a compaſs, and commands them to halt again, as if he deſigned a new encampment. Deceived by this feint, the confederates had laid aſide all expectations of a preſent engagement, when the Thebans appeared moving on in line of battle. Nor was it only by this artifice that he ſhewed the general. His forces he had ranged with conſummate art. In the left wing he and his faithful Thebans occupied the poſt oppoſite to the Spartans and Mantineans: the fierce Argives, in the other wing, were to attack the Athenians; whilſt the Eubœans, Locrians, Sicyonians, and Meſſenians, in the centre, were to engage with the Acheans and thoſe of Elis: his cavalry, partly Theſſalians, cloſed the line, and among the horſe were bowmen and ſlingers interſperſed. In this order he advanced. And his directions were the ſame as in the day of Leuctra, that when the attack was to be made, the whole weight of his infantry ſhould fall into one column, and bear down on the right wing of the enemy.

So

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. So excellent a diſpoſition could ſcarcely fail of its effect. The Spartans were ſoon broken through. In every other part alſo was the enemy giving way; and all things promiſed to Thebes a complete victory. However, the Spartans rallied again, and renewing the charge, they and the Thebans cloſed with each other in bloody conflict: the former indignant, that an empire they had held ſo long ſhould be wreſted from them; the latter earneſt to maintain the glory they had acquired, and to exalt their country above the reach of oppreſſion. In this ſtruggle, Epaminondas ſuffered the ardour of the patriot to hurry him on, till he had forced his way into the midſt of the Lacedemonian phalanx. His very name ſpread terror among them: they fled before him, and already was their commander ſlain by his hand, when, as he puſhed forward eager to finiſh their defeat, a Spartan ſtruck at him with his javelin. The weapon pierced his breaſt, and the wood breaking ſhort left the bearded iron behind.

FAINTING with extreme anguiſh and loſs of blood, the excellent Epaminondas fell ſenſeleſs; whilſt his faithful Thebans ruſhed furious to the place, and dealing ſlaughter on every ſide, reſcued and carried off to his tent the perſon of their expiring general. Immediately the deepeſt conſternation diffuſed itſelf throughout their camp. No ſhout of victory was to be heard; but the countenances of all men appeared clouded over with anxious ſorrow. To every Theban it was manifeſt, that in loſing him he loſt a father and a friend; the friend and patron of liberty, and the father of his country.

WHEN he was ſeated in his tent, and his ſpirits were returned to him, he enquired concerning his ſhield. The loſs of this, we have ſeen, was accounted

counted infamous. Being told it was ſafe, he desired to ſee it, and embraced 'the companion,' as he called it, 'of his toils and glory.' *And who are victorious?* demanded he again. *The Thebans*, they made anſwer. *Then*, replied he, *I die happy*; and chearful and compoſed, commanded the ſurgeons to cut out the head of the javelin. All thoſe about him knew, as well as he, that death muſt follow the extraction, and began anew to lament themſelves. 'Oh,' cried one of them, 'you are dying, Epaminondas! Could Thebes at 'leaſt have the hopes of ſeeing you live again in 'your poſterity. But your country loſes you; 'and (moſt afflicting!) ſhe loſes you entirely.'— 'Not ſo,' returned Epaminondas: 'I leave be- 'hind me two daughters, Leuctra and Mantinea; 'whoſe names ſhall never die' Then, with the ſame compoſure as before, he renewed his orders to the ſurgeons, and the inſtant the operation was over, expired. BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

SUCH was the end of Epaminondas, the ableſt general, and (what is a far better title to praiſe) one of the moſt excellent and virtuous men, that Greece, or perhaps any other country, ever gave birth to: a man, who, inſtead of receiving a luſtre from high office, added dignity to magiſtracy, and graced the honours with which he was inveſted; who ſought victory only for the ſake of the public happineſs; and who never fought a battle but to free enſlaved nations, and to break the ſhackles of injuſtice. It is the obſervation of Plutarch concerning Pelopidas and him, that they never ſpilled the blood of any man they had conquered, nor ever deſpoiled of liberty any city they had taken. Indeed Epaminondas may be ſaid to have poſſeſſed all the nobler qualities of the ſtateſman and the warrior, without being ſtained with any one of their

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

vices. A ſtranger to avarice and ambition, averſe from violence, his nature was gentle, patient, humble; his manners were upright, and plain, and modeſt. He loved peace: and as we have ſaid already, gladly would he have ſpent his days in the calm proſecution of truth and virtue. The neceſſities of his country drew him from his retirement. Who would have thought, that a philoſopher ſhould at once approve himſelf a complete ſtateſman and an accompliſhed general, a general, the admiration of all ſucceeding ages, and the greateſt maſter of *tactics* that ever appeared amongſt the Grecians? Who could ſuppoſe, that ſuch a general, and ſuch a ſtateſman, in the midſt of his ſplendor, ſhould ſtill retain the virtues of the philoſopher—the ſame humility and diſintereſtedneſs, when become the arbiter of nations; the ſame poverty and contempt of wealth, when the treaſures of Greece were open to him; the ſame moderation, the ſame humane mind, the ſame ſtrictneſs of manners, in the hurry of a camp, and tumult of battle? In the ſpace of a very few years he did more than all the preceding captains of Greece had been able to effect, towards reducing the imperious inſolence of the Lacedemonians, with whoſe genius he was well acquainted, and whoſe policy and cruel ambition he held in abhorrence. It was his boaſt, that he had taught them to *lengthen their monoſyllables*, to lay aſide that haughty brevity which marked their language towards as many as preſumed to expoſtulate with them. It is alſo a circumſtance well deſerving of notice, that as the Thebans in the courſe of his adminiſtration roſe to the height of empire, ſo, when he was dead, they ſoon relapſed into their former obſcurity. Bereft of him, who was the ſoul of their councils, and the vigour of their armies,

armies, they became, ſays Juſtin, like a ſpear whoſe point is broken off, impotent and worthleſs. What is moſt to be lamented in the fate of Epaminondas, the life of this excellent man was laviſhed away in *domeſtic* war. He died by Grecian hands. And he, who might ſo nobly have vindicated the liberties of Greece againſt Barbarian force, was employed at home in oppoſing lawleſs uſurpation, and in circumſcribing the power of Sparta. This was the conſideration which moved Plutarch to ſay, that had the Grecians of that era beheld Alexander ſeated on the throne of Darius, the ſight would have drawn tears from them, when they reflected, that they had left open that glory to a Macedonian, whilſt they ſacrificed their own heroic chiefs in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

BUT if Thebes loſt irreparably by the fall of her great champion, neither did that event enable Sparta to recover her aſcendency. The day of Mantinea was fatal to her alſo; and neither ſide choſe any longer to purſue a war alike deſtructive to both. Peace accordingly was concluded with Thebes by the confederates of Sparta on the terms, that every ſtate ſhould retain, independent of any other power, what they were then in poſſeſſion of. And though the Spartans, out of hatred to the inhabitants of Meſſenia, refuſed to ratify the treaty, yet their weakneſs did not permit them to aſſert their antient claim of empire. Even Ageſilaus himſelf, whoſe arrogance and ambition had brought ruin on his country, ſeems now to have entirely deſpaired of reſtoring Sparta; for we find him about this time in a character very unworthy of the high ſpirit he had diſplayed in his earlier days. Shortly after the death of Epaminondas, he went, in quality of mercenary, into

Bef. Chriſt. 361.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. Egypt, to aſſiſt king Tachos againſt the Perſians; but receiving ſome diſguſt, he deſerted from him to Nectanebus, the nephew (or ſon, as others will have it) of that prince, expelled Tachos, and ſettled Nectanebus in full poſſeſſion of the throne. In his return homeward, he ſickened on the coaſt of Africa, whither he had been driven by ſtreſs of weather, and died there, at the extraordinary age of eighty four.

It was certainly a great misfortune to Sparta, that Ageſilaus had not leſs abilities, or more virtue: an excellent ſoldier, a ſubtil politician, well ſkilled in the arts of government; modeſt, frugal, courteous; who ſeemed to have nothing of the King about him, but the patience of toil, the firmneſs of ſoul, the thirſt of glory. And yet were all theſe qualities rendered pernicious through a miſtaken love for his country, and an intemperate deſire of extending her dominions. Upright, obſervant of the laws, with reſpect to her; with reſpect to others, he was perfidious, cruel, tyrannical: and the influence and authority, which his modeſt deportment ſecured to him at home, he made uſe of only to invade and oppreſs abroad. By this conduct he plunged Sparta into ruinous wars; he forced the nations of Greece to confederate againſt her, and conſpire her deſtruction; he waſted her ſtrength in vain undertakings, and left her diſgraced and humbled. In his place reigned his ſon Archidamus, to whom he had ceded the crown before his departure for Egypt.

It might have been expected, that Athens would have profited by the depreſſed condition of her neighbours of Thebes and Sparta, and again have taken a diſtinguiſhed part in the affairs of Greece. But in the event the death of Epaminondas

nondas proved fatal to the Athenians, not leſs than to the other two ſtates. Delivered from him who kept up their emulation, they grew ſecure and indolent. The love of eaſe and pleaſure ſtifled that of glory and independency. The virtues of antient days were forgotten. Works of taſte and delicacy, poetry, and dramatic ſhew, became the ſole buſineſs of the people. Even the funds aſſigned for the ſupport of their fleets and armies were conſumed in ſports and feſtivals, a prepoſterous economy devoting to the entertainment of the idle citizen what ſhould have been given to the maintenance of the ſoldier and mariner; ſo that, if we may believe Plutarch, it coſt a larger ſum to repreſent ſome of the famous pieces of Sophocles and Euripides, than had been expended in carrying on the war againſt the Barbarians. To ſuch an height had the corruption, which Pericles firſt introduced, prevailed among them. Now alſo was eloquence become a trade: the public councils were under the guidance of the orator, and never did Athens abound with ſpeakers ſo much as at this time—the ſure indication of a factious, contentious democracy. In concurrence likewiſe with theſe evils were to be ſeen all the other miſchiefs, that portend the approaching fall of a commonwealth; ſycophants in office, penſioners to foreign courts concealing themſelves under the character of zealous patriots, malicious proſecutions encouraged, the magiſtracy deſpiſed, the laws trampled on, a total diſregard to the public good, and a venal ſpirit poſſeſſing all ranks of men.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

The condition of the other Grecian ſtates was to the full as miſerable; moſt of them rent by domeſtic diviſions, or exhauſted by their late wars. Beſides, though now ſeemingly at peace, they

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. they were all disunited the one from the other. Their subsisting alliances were the work of fear or jealousy only. No subordination was preserved, no common interest was pursued; but the single endeavour of all parties was to take the lead, and to acquire the power of controuling their antagonists.

BOOK VIII.

SECTION III.

WHILST degenerate manners and decay of vigour were in this manner invading Greece on every ſide, an obſcure prince of Macedon was making his way to empire. Philip, the ſon of Amyntas, had been educated in the ſchool of adverſity. In his earlier days ſent as an hoſtage to Thebes, he had lived ſixteen years in a kind of exile from his country; an event however, which became the foundation of his greatneſs. It was his fortune to be committed to the care of Polymnis, the father of Epaminondas; whence he had the opportunity of knowing Epaminondas, of obſerving his virtues, of ſtudying his great example. At length the news of a revolution in Macedonia coming to Thebes, he ſtole away, and fled homeward, where all things were in the utmoſt confuſion. His father's reign had been

Bef. Chriſt 359.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. been weak and diſtreſſed. His two brothers, who had ſucceſſively filled the throne, were dead, the one taken off ſome years before by domeſtic treaſon, the other, Perdiccas, lately ſlain in a battle with the Illyrians. The heir of the crown was an infant. The kingdom itſelf was likely to become a prey to every neighbouring power; to the Illyrians, who flushed with victory were on the point of entering it; to its daily invaders, the Pæonians; to the Thracians, pretending to place Pauſanias, a prince of the royal blood, on the throne; and laſtly to the Athenians, who ſupported Argeus, and had ſent a fleet and troops to his aſſiſtance.

In this difficult ſituation, the Macedonians caſt their eyes on Philip, and depoſing an helpleſs infant, called in a prince that ſeemed able to defend them. The firſt exploits of his reign juſtified their choice. Unequal to the multitude of enemies he had to encounter, he took off the greater number, ſome by promiſes, others by preſents. He retrieved the drooping courage of his Macedonians, and reſtored diſcipline among them. He repelled Pauſanias. He met Argeus in battle, defeated and ſlew him, and by artfully diſmiſſing thoſe Athenians he took priſoners, deluded Athens into a peace. He then fell unexpectedly on the Pæonians and Illyrians; the former he ſubdued, and obliged the latter to relinquiſh all their conqueſts in Macedonia. His next attempt was directed againſt Amphipolis, the barrier of his dominions on the ſide of Thrace, and (as we remarked in deſcribing it) an Athenian colony. The difficulty was, what conduct it was proper to obſerve with relation to this place: if he retained it, he irritated the Athenians; if he gave it up to them, he uncovered

vered his own frontier. This ſubtil politician, then but twenty three years old, did neither. He declared the Amphipolitans free. The ſpecious grant, however, ſubſiſted no longer than the neceſſity of his affairs: ſome time after, he ſeized again on Amphipolis, which he annexed finally to his dominions. The like policy he made uſe of towards every ſtate around him, employing force or ſtratagem, peace or war, as occaſion invited, improving every opportunity, purſuing every advantage. So that, ſcarcely were three years elapſed after his return to Macedon, when already Philip was become the moſt conſiderable prince in the northern parts of Greece: his armies were numerous and well diſciplined, his dominions enlarged, and his power reſpected.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 358. Bef. Chriſt 356.

In the midſt of a progreſs to empire which ought to have alarmed the Athenians, this inconſiderate people continued blind to the dangers that threatened them, nor could perſuade themſelves, that a king of Macedonia was capable of aſpiring to the conqueſt of Greece. The repeated declarations of the crafty Philip had their effect in lulling them to this fatal ſecurity. And far from apprehending danger on that ſide, they were at this very time engaged in unneceſſary wars, the Social firſt, and then the Phocian, which ſerved to no other purpoſe but to waſte their ſmall remains of vigour, and to expoſe the weakneſs and corruption of their government.

The Social or war of the allies was occaſioned by a confederacy of the Byzantines with the iſlands of Rhodes, Cos, and Chios to throw off their dependance upon Athens, and to aſſert their common liberties. The Athenians, as jealous of their prerogative as they had been during the ſunſhine

Bef. Chriſt 357.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

funſhine of their fortune, forthwith equipped a fleet to reduce theſe refractory allies. The war ended, after three years, in an ignominious peace, extorted from the Athenians by the dread of Artaxerxes Ochus, ſucceſſor on the throne of Perſia to his father Mnemon, who threatened to ſupport the iſlanders with a fleet of three hundred ſail. The conditions of the peace were, that the confederated ſtates ſhould for ever remain free and independent. It is remarkable that Chares, to whom the conduct of this war was principally entruſted, was one of the worſt men of his time, inſolent, vain, poſitive, treacherous, ſupplying the want of abilities with boaſtful words, (ſo that *the promiſes of Chares* grew into a proverb) and courting popular favour at the expence of truth and every moſt valuable conſideration. To the miſmanagement of this man it was owing, that the war had ſuch a diſhonourable concluſion. Nevertheleſs he eſcaped, and had even the influence to procure the impeachment of his two brother generals, Iphicrates and Timotheus (ſon to Conon) both faithful and experienced officers, becauſe they had refuſed to join with him in ruſhing on the enemy in a ſtorm, and combating the elements. Timotheus, unable to pay his fine of an hundred talents, retired and died in exile at Chalcis. Iphicrates obtained his acquittal by an extraordinary contrivance: he introduced a number of armed men into the court, which ſo intimidated the judges, that they pronounced in his favour. The fact is a curious and ſtrong proof of the diſtempered ſtate of Athens. Next followed the Phocian or Sacred War, a war of much longer continuance, and far more pernicious in its conſequences.

Bef. Chriſt 355.

THE

THE Phocians had tilled a part of the ſacred territory of Delphi. For this profanation being fined by the Amphictyonic council, inſtead of ſubmitting to the decree, they took up arms under a leader Philomelus, who had the temerity even to ſeize on the Delphic temple. With theſe impious ſtates a ſimilitude of intereſts connected both the Lacedemonians and the Athenians, who entered into alliance with them, the former, becauſe they had been condemned by the Amphictyons for their perfidious invaſion of the Theban citadel, and had refuſed to pay the mulct impoſed on them; the latter, from jealouſy of Thebes, which was at the head of the oppoſite confederacy, and together with the Locrians had undertaken to vindicate the rights of the god. A contempt of religion is one of the ſureſt forerunners of public ruin; neither could any thing ſpeak a people loſt to all ſenſe of good, and ripe for deſtruction, more inconteſtably, than this inſolence of impiety towards a deity whom they pretended to venerate. Nevertheleſs, the Phocians obtained ſeveral conſiderable advantages; and though Philomelus fell in battle, the war was continued with unabated activity by his brother Onomarchus.

Bef. Chriſt 356. Bef. Chriſt 355. Bef. Chriſt 352.

PHILIP beheld with pleaſure the Grecians doing his work. Whilſt they haraſſed and conſumed each other, he was improving his ſtrength, and extending his conqueſts. At this time he had been invited into Theſſaly, to deliver the people of that country from the oppreſſive yoke of the tyrant Lycophron, brother and ſucceſſor to Alexander of Pheræ; and Lycophron had ſolicited Onomarchus to aſſiſt him. With all his abilities and ſkill in war, Philip found himſelf at the firſt ſeverely preſſed by the Phocian general; and ſuch a terror had poſſeſſed his men, that they refuſed

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. to march againſt the enemy. But ſtrengthened by a reinforcement, and animating his ſoldiers with hopes of victory, he brought them on to a ſecond general engagement, in which Onomarchus was ſlain, his army totally defeated, and Lycophron by conſequence obliged to flee out of Theſſaly. Philip took the occaſion to ſignalize his zeal for religion, by commanding the body of Onomarchus to be hung up, and the priſoners taken in the action to be thrown into the ſea, as ſacrilegious and accurſed.

THE ſucceſs of this buſineſs, and the reputation it acquired him, enlarged his views to that extent, that under pretence of attacking the Phocians in their own territory, he attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of the paſs of Thermopylæ, *the key* (as he juſtly called it) *of Greece*. But here the Athenians took the alarm, and prevented him, inſtigated, it is generally believed, to this exertion by the lively remonſtrances of Demoſthenes. This great orator and ſtateſman had diſtinguiſhed himſelf before on other occaſions: but he now exerted himſelf in a more extraordinary manner; and his bold, impetuous, forcible eloquence was particularly of uſe at this ſeaſon.

Bef. Chriſt 351.

THE claſſical reader knows, what were the excellencies peculiar to this, confeſſedly, the firſt of all public ſpeakers:—ſtrength of argument; ſublimity of thought; a nervous manly ſtyle, enlivened with a variety of metaphors, apoſtrophes, interrogations; a wonderful vehemence of expreſſion, calculated not to perſuade only, but to overpower and force conviction on the hearer. And indeed ſuperlative as his talents were, he had occaſion for them all, to bear him through the various difficulties he was to combat. He was to combat the paſſions of a corrupted people, of a people

people ſunk into a ſtate of indolence, debauched by eaſe, and averſe from martial toil. He was to combat the partiſans and penſioners of Philip, ſome of the greateſt orators of Greece, who appeared in avowed oppoſition to him. The very weakneſs of his country ſeemed to forbid vigorous meaſures. Even the laws were againſt him. The funds for the war, as we have mentioned, had been diverted to the ſupport of the theatre, and it had been made death to propoſe the applying of that money to any other purpoſe: and yet the rich refuſed to bear the burden of taxes, whilſt the public revenues were thus diſſipated in furniſhing entertainment to the inferior citzens. But in ſpite of all theſe diſcouragements, the thunder of Demoſthenes' eloquence rouſed the genius of Athens, and more than once did the admirable ſchemes he pointed out to his fellow citizens prove the means of checking the progreſs of the enterpriſing Macedonian. He did not indeed preſerve his country: her vicious manners, and the abilities of the prince ſhe was to oppoſe, rendered it impoſſible. But he gave to Athens an activity and ſpirit, to which ſhe had long been a ſtranger; he rendered her formidable even to Philip; and probably, had not ſuch a prince as this been againſt her, he might at leaſt have delayed her ruin. So that, far from wondering that he did not effect more, rather ſhould we be ſurpriſed how he was able to accompliſh ſo much. To his honour it is allowed, that Philip, who feared him more than any other perſon in Greece, made uſe of every art to win him over to his intereſt; but neither the dread of his power, nor the large bribes he offered him, availed any thing. This is the more extraordinary, becauſe Demoſthenes, as it appeared in other inſtances, was a coward,

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. coward, and fond of money: and yet at this time his love of his country, and a ſenſe of her diſtreſſes, ſeemed to have exalted him above all the little weakneſſes to which his nature was ſubject.

PHILIP, not dejected by the failure of one enterpriſe out of many, marched northward from Thermopylæ, to purſue his military operations on the ſide of Thrace. After a career of conqueſt in thoſe parts, he directed his courſe towards Olynthus. It was the moſt powerful ſtate in the region of Chalcidice, and in the days of Amyntas had nearly effected the deſtruction of the houſe of Macedon. Hence it was, that Philip in the beginning of his reign courted the friendſhip of this republic: he was not at that period in a condition to contend with her. But now, encreaſed in ſtrength, he avowed his deſign, and on his way ſent the Olynthians this peremptory meſſage, 'that either they muſt quit Olynthus, or he Ma-'cedonia.' Such a menace from ſuch a prince left the Olynthians no reſource but in the aſſiſtance of Athens. Accordingly their embaſſadors were diſpatched thither, and found an earneſt advocate in Demoſthenes, who conſidered their cauſe as the cauſe of his country. And yet, through the miſrepreſentations of the other orators, neither ſeaſonable nor ſufficient ſuccours were ſent out; and when at length the Athenians, urged on by Demoſthenes, reſolved to exert themſelves more effectually, the unfortunate city was already in the hands of Philip. His gold, it ſeems, had prevailed on ſome of the principal inhabitants to open their gates to him. Theſe repeated ſucceſſes alarmed the Athenians. Trembling for their poſſeſſions in Thrace and along the Helleſpont, they haſtened away their embaſſadors into Macedon, to conclude a peace with this dangerous enemy.

Bef. Chriſt 348.

Bef. Chriſt 347.

PHILIP

PHILIP was too refined a politician to explain himſelf immediately. About the ſame time he had received an application, not leſs agreeable to him, from the Theban people. The Phocian war ſtill continued. Phayllus had been appointed general in the room of his brother Onomarchus; and he dying, Phalecus, a young man, the ſon of Onomarchus, was placed at the head of the Phocian army. Theſe generals, Onomarchus and his ſucceſſors, had made free with the ſacred treaſury, which Philomelus, in the novelty of impiety, had not dared to violate: thus had they found ample means to carry on the war in the riches and ſumptuous offerings which the devotion of kings and nations had depoſited there, the plunder amounting to above ten thouſand talents. This overbalance of wealth quite oppreſſed the Thebans. To counteract it, they had recourſe to the fatal expedient of inviting Philip into Greece, to take vengeance on the ſacrilegious Phocians; loſing in the deſire of gratifying their inveterate hatred the obvious diſcovery, that they were forging their own chains, and ſacrificing the common happineſs of Greece.

THE Macedonian diſſembled with the Athenians, and artfully protracted his negotiation with their embaſſadors, till he was advanced into Theſſaly. There, on the point of paſſing the Thermopylæ, he found it neceſſary to conclude the treaty with Athens, and immediately after, entered Phocis, before the Greeks had any certain knowledge of his intentions. His very name and appearance ſubdued the Phocians: they laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to his mercy. Accordingly, he permitted Phalecus with eight thouſand mercenaries to retire into Peloponneſus; and the Phocian nation he referred to the judgment of the Amphictyonic Bef. Chriſt 346.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

tyonic council, which he cauſed to be aſſembled for that purpoſe. This ſeeming moderation was all artifice. The Amphictyons were under his influence, and the authority of their tribunal ſerved only to give a ſanction to his determinations. They decreed, 'that the cities of Phocis ſhould be 'demoliſhed, the inhabitants diſperſed in vil-'lages; that the Phocians ſhould be obliged to 'pay an annual tribute, till the whole of what 'was taken out of the temple was reſtored; that 'they ſhould forfeit their ſeat in the Amphictyonic 'council, and their right of ſuffrage be transferred 'to the king of Macedon, the glorious vindica-'tor of religion, and aſſertor of the public peace.' In this ſurpriſing manner, in the courſe of a few years, was Philip, from a poor diſtreſſed prince, who ſaw his territories invaded, and even his crown precarious, become the arbiter of Greece, modelling her councils at his pleaſure.

FOR the preſent, however, he choſe to let the apprehenſions of the ſeveral Grecian ſtates die away; and as if a zeal for religion had been his only motive for entering Greece, he returned into Macedonia, and engaged in war againſt the Illyrians. At the end of four years, he appeared a ſecond time in Thrace, to invade the Cherſoneſus, where the Athenians had conſiderable eſtabliſhments. Indeed, whatever ſemblance of peace there might be, hoſtilities had never ceaſed between Philip and the Athenians; Philip endeavouring to weaken and diſtreſs the Athenians, undermining their intereſt, debauching their allies, diſtreſſing their colonies; and the Athenians ſeeking Philip's deſtruction, upbraiding him with perfidy, ſoliciting his enemies to riſe againſt him, and ſometimes themſelves invading and ravaging his territories, ſuch as bordered on their ſettlements.

ments. The conteſt, however, had been far from equal. Philip was a prince active, vigilant, his own miniſter, his own general, diſguiſing his ſchemes, connecting together the deſign and the execution, ſparing neither expence nor toil, and ſure of procuring by bribes what he could not command by arms. The Athenians, infirm of purpoſe, poor in treaſure, depending on their orators, and of courſe diſtracted by oppoſition of counſel, were ſlow in deliberating, ſlower in executing; ſo that not unfrequently they were employed in conſidering of means for the ſecurity of a colony, when that colony was theirs no longer; or preparing to attack Philip in one quarter, when he was already gone off to another. Their officers alſo were ſent abroad without either inſtructions or powers ſufficient; and if they exceeded their orders, even to render ſome eſſential ſervice to their country, impeachments, and generally diſgrace and damage, awaited them at home.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

His northern conqueſts Philip conſidered only as amuſements: his eye was fixed unremittingly on Greece, and his ſcheme of empire was not to be perfected by any thing ſhort of the final oppreſſion of her liberties. The folly of the Grecians themſelves ſoon preſented him with the occaſion he wiſhed for. Thebes invited him again into Greece; and under ſhew of protecting Meſſenia and Argolis againſt the inſults of Sparta, that ſtate would have led him into the very heart of Peloponneſus. But the Athenians were too nearly affected by ſuch an enterpriſe to ſubmit tamely to it: they threatened to league with Sparta if he advanced, and obliged Philip to deſiſt. The troubled ſtate of Eubœa furniſhed him with a new pretence. He invaded that iſland, in order, as he alledged, to expel the tyrants that afflicted ſome

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

of its cities, and to reſtore the Eubœan liberties. But neither on this occaſion were the Athenians deceived: they ſaw the tendency of his ambitious attempt, and oppoſed it vigorouſly.

Bef. Chriſt 341.

THESE little checks induced Philip to change the plan of his operations; for which end he retreated northward, reſolving to diſtreſs the Athenians in thoſe parts whence their ſupplies of corn were tranſmitted to them. He therefore ſat down before Perinthus, a ſtrong town on the Propontis, firmly attached to the Athenians, which he inveſted with an army of thirty thouſand men, ſupported by a complete train of battering engines. The inhabitants made a reſolute defence, their hopes being kept alive by the proſpect of ſuccour from their neighbours of Byzantium; to cut off which ſupply, Philip divides his army into two parts; with one half he marches againſt the Byzantines, while the other remained before Perinthus.

Bef. Chriſt 340.

SUCH violent proceedings gave a general alarm both in Perſia and in Greece. Ochus ordered his lieutenants to carry aid to the beſieged cities; and for the ſame purpoſe Phocion was ſent out from Athens with a conſiderable force. The employing of Phocion ſhewed the Athenians were in earneſt. He was the ableſt, indeed the only able, officer they had; and beſides, a man of unblemiſhed virtue, whoſe integrity and ſanctity of manners rendered him worthy of the happieſt days that Athens had ever ſeen. Yet in his notions of policy he differed from Demoſthenes. He would have had the Athenians make a friend of Philip, and ſubmit on the beſt terms they could procure to what it was not in their power to prevent. The counſel of Demoſthenes was certainly the nobler; but it may reaſonably be doubted, whether in theſe times, when the ſpirit of Athens

Bef. Chriſt 339.

was

was no more, that of Phocion was not the more eligible. The manner of ſpeech which Phocion adopted in public was obſerved to be remarkably cloſe and conciſe, unadorned by any flowers of oratory: *the pruner of his periods* was the name, by which Demoſthenes was wont to diſtinguiſh him. It ſhould not be forgotten, that although he endeavoured to diſſuade the Athenians from running inconſiderately to their ruin, by engaging in an oppoſition to which they were no longer competent, yet in all the ſtruggles of his republic againſt the Macedonian progreſs, as far as he was employed, he approved himſelf a brave ſoldier and a faithful patriot. The misfortune was, a man of this character could have but little weight in a ſtate ſuch as Athens was at preſent. Intrigue and faction kept him at a diſtance from public affairs; ſo that it was generally to the fears of his country, or the diſtreſſes of her allies, that he owed the commands with which he was inveſted. And yet how much might have been done, even in theſe dark tempeſtuous days, and ſhattered as was the commonwealth, had the helm of government been wholly confided to a man upright and capable, may be eſtimated from what Phocion now effected. He reſtored confidence among the allies; he obliged Philip to abandon the ſiege both of Byzantium and Perinthus; he recovered ſeveral places, which he had garriſoned; he ravaged his dominions, he took his ſhips, and drove him out of the Helleſpont.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

But in his own ſubtil arts, working on the general depravity of Greece, the king of Macedon found a ſure reſource againſt any occaſional diſappointment. He expoſtulated with the Athenians; he amuſed them with proteſtations of good-will, and offers of peace. At the ſame time,

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. his emiſſaries were employed throughout all Greece to give a fair gloſs to what he had done. There was not a ſtate, nor a public council, in which he had not his penſioners, all of them devoted to his intereſts, and banded againſt their country. The fatal conſequences of this deep-rooted corruption were not ſlow in diſcovering themſelves. The charge of profanation, lately tried with ſucceſs, was now adduced in the Amphictyonic council againſt the Locri Ozolæ for having broken up part of the lands of Criſſa, menſal lands (as we have ſaid elſewhere) to the temple of Delphi. For this crime war was denounced againſt them, and the eſtates of Greece were called upon to arm in defence of the inſulted god. The difficulty was, how to provide ways and means for the ſupport of an armament, which, it was eaſy to ſee, muſt be expenſive. And here Æſchines the Athenian, ſeconded by ſome others of the Pylagoræ, ſecret agents of Philip, propoſed to deliver Greece from the burden by inviting the king of Macedon to chaſtiſe the Locrians. When the conſent of the council was notified to Philip, he found it difficult to diſſemble his ſatisfaction. Immediately he began his march; and advancing into Phocis, as if he no longer remembered *the ſacred cauſe* entruſted to him, he ſeizes on Elatea, a city on the Bœotian borders, conveniently ſituated either for awing Thebes, or opening to him a paſſage into Attica.

Bef. Chriſt 338.

Bef. Chriſt 337.

WHEN the news reached Athens, the whole city was preſently in an uproar. The aſſembly met; but even the generals and orators looked amazed one on the other: there was neither ſtrength nor counſel among them. At length, in the midſt of the public trepidation, Demoſthenes aroſe. He began with endeavouring to perſuade them, 'that

'it was not yet impoſſible to make a ſtand againſt Philip: the Thebans themſelves might be eaſily detached from his intereſts; for although many had been gained over by his preſents, the majority of that people were in their hearts inimical to him inaſmuch as whatever they might hitherto have been made to believe, they now could not but ſee in him the invader of Greece, and the oppreſſor of their country.' He adviſed therefore 'a vigorous ſupport of ſuch of the Thebans as were ſtill friends to liberty; an oblivion of all paſt animoſities; and that embaſſadors ſhould be diſpatched to Thebes, to encourage the people, and offer them every kind of aſſiſtance.' Laſtly he propoſed, 'that every Athenian capable of military duty ſhould march out, in order to form a camp at Eleuſis; and that every ſtate around ſhould be called upon to lend their aid in this critical emergency.' Salutary reſolutions, had the Athenians poſſeſſed the virtue to make them good. Phocion doubted this; and therefore he gave his ſentence, that they ſhould rather ſubmit to Philip. The Athenians aſſembled their forces, and a league offenſive and defenſive was concluded with the ſenate and people of Thebes. BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

Philip, whoſe maxim it was, never to break down a gate which he had not firſt tried to open, made uſe of every means to diſſuade Thebes from declaring againſt him; in the purſuit of which object, he employed Python, eſteemed one of the moſt eloquent ſpeakers of his time, to plead his cauſe before the Theban ſenate. But the arguments of this man were idle weapons, when oppoſed to the invincible artillery of Demoſthenes. Rouſed to an extraordinary exertion by the two powerful incentives of emulation and patriotiſm, he

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. he ſo fired the Thebans, that no longer maſters of themſelves, and blind to every conſideration of danger, they gave their ſuffrages for war. Diſappointed on the ſide of Thebes, the Macedonian ſued to Athens for peace; but in vain: the Athenians were too much exaſperated to liſten to any terms of accommodation. He then had recourſe to omens and menacing predictions; for the oracles alſo were under his guidance, and *philippized*, as Demoſthenes expreſſed it: but neither were theſe effectual. The Athenians, under the command of Chares and Lyſicles, having joined the Thebans, moved on towards Chæronea; and Philip, on the other ſide, determined to riſk all, or be maſter of Greece, advanced to meet them. Such were the ſteps that led the Grecians to the fatal day of Chæronea, a day that for ever deſpoiled them of all thoſe bleſſings they had ſo wantonly abuſed.

THE Macedonians were in number not far ſuperior to the Greeks; in other reſpects they had infinitely the advantage. Hardy, well diſciplined, flushed with victory, they followed a commander in whoſe wiſdom they had reaſon to confide, whoſe affection they looked up to as that of a parent. On the ſide of the confederates were ſeen troops feebly united among themſelves, the gleanings of thoſe armies which the rage of civil diſcord had conſumed, and part of them already ſubdued by the diſtreſſes of unſucceſsful war; their generals raſh, ignorant, poſſeſſing neither the good will nor the confidence of thoſe that ſerved under them. Nevertheleſs, with all theſe diſadvantages againſt them, they charged reſolutely. Reſentment, deſpair, the dark proſpect of what was to enſue on their defeat, impelled them on; and the Athenians even puſhed forward as far as the Macedonian

cedonian center. But the inconſiderate Lyſicles having ſuffered his men to break, and engage in wild purſuit, Philip, who was never more cool than on this deciſive day, marked his opportunity, and coming down on them when moſt in confuſion, obtained an eaſy and complete victory. It is ſaid that, when he ſaw the diſorderly manner of the enemy, he obſerved to thoſe about him, 'the Athenians know not how to conquer.' Mean time, the Thebans likewiſe had been routed. Whilſt Philip was joining battle with the Athenians, the young Alexander, who had the command of the left wing, had forced his way through the Theban battalia, and having cut to pieces the ſacred band,* where the braveſt oppoſition was, he ſoon compelled the reſt to flee before him. This memorable battle was fought the third year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad, one hundred and forty three years after the glorious action of Salamis.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

THE behaviour of the king of Macedon to the enemies, whom the fortune of war had now ſubjected to his mercy, was different in proportion as he deemed himſelf injured by them. Towards the Thebans he was inexorable. They had renounced his friendſhip, they had deſerted him in the moſt critical conjuncture, they had broken through all the ties of gratitude, and made light of the many kindneſſes he had conferred on them. Hence were they made to feel the ſeverity of his indignation. He obliged them to pay ranſom for their priſoners, and even to purchaſe the permiſſion of interring their dead. He ſet a garriſon over their city. He removed, either by the ſword or by baniſhment, the principal perſons who had ſtood againſt him. He recalled all ſuch as were in exile for eſpouſing his intereſts, conſtituted them

* Of 300 choſen men, united by the ties of virtuous friendſhip and *ſacred love*. PLUT. PELOP.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

them judges and magiſtrates, and gave them power of life and death over thoſe who had driven them from their country.

To the Athenians he ſhewed more lenity. At the firſt indeed, he was tranſported with his victory beyond meaſure: he inſulted over the dead, and upbraided the priſoners with their misfortune, leaping and dancing on the field of battle, and ſinging with an air of mockery the preamble of the celebrated decree by which Demoſthenes denounced war againſt him. But the keen obſervation of the orator Demades, who was in the number of the priſoners, wrought a change in his mind: 'Fortune,' ſaid he, 'Philip, hath conſigned to thee the part of Agamemnon, and thou art acting that of Therſites.' Philip was ſtruck with the juſtneſs of the reproof; ſo that, far from being offended with Demades, he commanded him to be ſet at liberty. From that time his deportment towards the Athenians was humane and generous. He freely releaſed their captives, and renewed the peace with Athens. He affected modeſty and compaſſion; he would neither have feſtal ſacrifices, nor crowns, nor ſports; ſeeming to forget, in the deſire of ſoftening the humiliation and diſtreſſes of the conquered, all the pride of the conqueror.

IT may indeed furniſh matter of enquiry, whether the generoſity of Philip on this occaſion might not in part be owing to his dread of the Athenian ſatire, combined with a deſire of having his praiſes recorded by that elegant people. He certainly in ſeveral inſtances courted the good opinion of the Athenians; and doubtleſs no man had more to fear from the edge of ſatire than he. For though brave, active, enterpriſing, though able in council, and formidable in arms, yet had he very few of thoſe excellencies that denominate princes great and

and good. He had learned to imitate Epaminondas only in ſome of his military qualities; and however he may be thought to come within ſight of him as *a ſoldier*, yet as *a man* was he infinitely behind him. His public life was ſtained with violence and perfidiouſneſs; his private was black with the worſt of crimes. And the ſucceſs he met with may juſtly be conſidered rather as a chaſtiſement and ſcourge to Greece for her degeneracy, than as a recompence to him for his virtues. He had the fortune afterwards to prevail with the Grecian ſtates to elect him their commander in chief againſt the Perſians. That empire had long been nodding to ruin, and he promiſed to himſelf that he ſhould with no great difficulty effect its overthrow. But in the midſt of his moſt flattering expectations, he was cut off by domeſtic treaſon, and left his throne and his proſpects to Alexander his ſon, to whom hiſtory has falſely annexed the title of Great, as if martial fury, and the wanton invaſion of nations, were the diſtinguiſhing excellence of princes. His exploits and fortunes we have reſerved to another volume.

Bef. Chriſt 336.

Bef. Chriſt 335.

As for the Grecians, after the battle of Chæronea, every year ſeems to have added to their meanneſs and abjectneſs, until what Philip had begun, Alexander and his ſucceſſors, and at laſt wide-waſting Rome, completed. Some few men, it is true, roſe up at different periods, and ſought to vindicate their country from oppreſſion. But their efforts were unavailing. Greece no longer had a ſpirit equal to the attempt, and the power to be contended with was too conſiderable.

Such are the effects of upright and of degenerate manners; the latter always ending in weakneſs and ſervitude; the former productive of

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. of liberty, wealth, and empire. From the fortunes of this celebrated people, their progress and their period, the young reader may deduce with certainty this instructive lesson, that one law is imposed by the Supreme Ruler of the world both on nations and individuals, one only *road to happiness* is opened to the one and to the other, *the road of virtue*.

END OF VOL. I.

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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

The following Diſſertation *on the love of the marvellous ſo prevalent among the ancient Greeks* was intended by the Author of this hiſtory to be introduced into his firſt book. But as the Editor thought it too prolix for that place, and yet too curious to merit ſuppreſſion, he is tempted to detain the reader's attention a little longer by laying it before him, as an epiſode, here.

THE ſeveral ages of the Grecian people have been diſtinguiſhed into three periods, times *unknown*, times *fabulous*, and times *hiſtorical*. Times *unknown* are ſuppoſed by Varro, by whom this diſtinction is ſaid to have been firſt made, to be thoſe only which preceded the great deluge, called by the Grecian fabuliſts the deluge of Ogyges, the ſame probably with that of Noah. But in fact the times *unknown* of the Greeks come down much lower than this, and extend to the firſt introduction of civility and the arts by colonies from Egypt. Until that period, whatever were the exploits of thoſe early ſavages, they are loſt in impenetrable night. The times *fabulous* may be dated from the arrival of the Egyptian ſtrangers, and take in the whole intervening period

riod between their entrance into Greece and the age of Solon, when events were more faithfully recorded. During the latter part however of this period, the gloom of fable was clearing away; and inſtead of the poetical embelliſhments, with which every trivial adventure of the heroic days was wont to be ſet off, the ſober ſtyle of proſe began to be adopted. The proſe-writer of hiſtory was not known in Greece, till about the days of Cyrus the great and Darius Hyſtaſpis, that is, about 530 years before Chriſt, and 370 after the Trojan war. With the age in which Solon lived, commence what we may properly call the times *hiſtorical* of Greece. And yet even then, ſo deep a tint had the Grecian literature imbibed from ancient fable, that among ſome of the moſt reſpectable writers in the hiſtorical line the fabuliſt frequently diſgraces the hiſtorian, and the love of the marvellous ſeems to have prevailed over the love of truth.

THE *fabulous* times of Greece preſent us with an aſſemblage of the moſt uncouth fictions that romance ever exhibited. The whole univerſe, in thoſe days of fable, was crouded with gods, who had each of them their reſpective departments aſſigned to them; all which divine perſonages frequently made themſelves viſible to mortals, and mixed in familiar intercourſe with human kind; avowed the ſame luſtful and vindictive paſſions as man, in his moſt corrupt ſtate, is liable to; and indulged in the ſame ſenſual gratifications, with all the lawleſs extravagance of ſavage life; and of courſe, whoſe amours, jealouſies, conteſts, were productive of adventures as ludicrous as they were ſhameful, many of thoſe gods in the purſuit of their intrigues often aſſuming the humiliating form of a beaſt, of a bird, an eagle, a ſwan, a ram, a bull, a horſe.

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The hiſtory of their kings was not leſs prepoſterous than that of their gods. Powerful ſtates, Grecian fable pretended, had flouriſhed in Greece during a length of ages, at a period, when the whole country muſt have been woodland, and the inhabitants little elſe than wild foreſters. The kingdom of Argos had been founded by Phoroneus above 900 years before the Trojan war; and the kingdom of Ægialeum, or Sicyon, near 300 years earlier. And yet of the atchievements, the laws, the arts of theſe boaſted kingdoms not the leaſt veſtige remained; and a long liſt of the names of their ſuppoſed princes was all that had eſcaped the wreck of time. Even the riſe of moſt of the other Grecian kingdoms, whoſe claim was of a more humble date, lay enveloped in darkneſs. The ſlaying of a ſerpent, and the ſowing of its teeth in the earth, had produced the founders of one people. Ants changed into men had given beginning to another. One city aſcribed its origin to a double-bodied prince. Another owed the fortifications with which it was encompaſſed to the power of muſic: obedient to the ſounds of the lyre, the ſtones had moved, and ranged themſelves into walls and battlements. Nor was this all. Greece on every ſide teemed with prodigies. And year after year, appeared ſome new monſter, in whoſe extermination the proweſs of a god, or of ſome hero the offspring of a god, was to be diſplayed: here a ſerpent with fifty heads, of which ſhould one be cut off, two others ſprang up in the ſtead of it: there a bull of fierceneſs untameable, from whoſe noſtrils iſſued forth flames of fire: this paſs was guarded by a lion, whoſe hide no weapon could pierce: that mountain was held by a dragon of enormous ſize, whoſe peſtilential breath dealt death around to all who durſt approach him. The lovely maiden, the blameleſs youth, were on a ſudden

ſudden transformed into ſome feathered ſongſter, ſome tree, ſome flower, ſome herb. Doves were gifted with human voice, and announced to man the deſtinations of heaven. Even the beech of the foreſt, and the cavern of the earth, became vocal, and uttered oracles.

WHAT is moſt amazing, theſe monſtrous legends, even the moſt impure of them, were received throughout the Grecian land with a holy reverence, and embraced with the moſt zealous credulity. Neither was the reſpect paid to them confined to thoſe early ages, when the ignorance of a barbarous people might afford ſome plea; they became the groundwork, on which roſe the religion of Greece and Rome in their ages of high improvement: theſe gods of fable were the gods, whoſe protection they implored in their day of calamity, and to whom in their ſeaſon of triumph they offered their thankſgivings; their greateſt artiſts were employed to record the ſeveral exploits which fiction had aſcribed to them; they were the pride of their palaces, and the ornaments of their temples; and the more effectually to perpetuate the remembrance of them, ſacred obſervances were inſtituted—in Greece, national games—in Rome, a number of auguſt ceremonies and pompous celebrations.

IN what claſs then ſhall the hiſtorian place theſe legendary tales? Shall he number them all among the inventions of *fraud?* Shall he call them altogether the airy dreams of *ſuperſtition?*—Neither the one nor the other of theſe ſuppoſitions ſtands clear of difficulties.

THESE fables, the philoſopher will remember, began in Greece with the firſt dawn of ſcience: her hiſtory opens with them. Is it therefore to be thought, that the Grecian tribes, when juſt riſing into

into civil life, poſſeſſed ſuch creative powers, ſuch a range of imagination, as to have given birth to all thoſe viſionary perſonages, and have adorned them with all thoſe feats and adventures, which now fills the rolls of fiction? And is it not rather to be ſuſpected, that *originally* many of thoſe fabulous tales were the artleſs language of the rude Greeks, new to every kind of improvement, who from the ſtrangers now mixing with them heard traditions which they could not comprehend, and ſaw manners they could not account for; who beheld every novel object with looks of amazement, and, in that animated ſtyle of amplification which wonder naturally dictates, honeſtly told what thoughts they were impreſſed with?

In ſuch circumſtances, the fable-dreſſed deſcription is the very deſcription to be expected. What may probably have followed in the ſucceeding ages, when the temptations of pleaſure, of power, of wealth began to operate, it is not difficult to ſee. Ambition, avarice, luſt, revenge had here numberleſs opportunities of impoſing whatever fabulous tale ſuited their ſeveral purpoſes on a people eaſy of belief, and apt to look for the marvellous. The Greeks ſaw *gods* every where; and therefore ſupernatural inventions they were as prone to believe, as impoſture was ready to employ them. If a princeſs happened to be frail, it was Mercury, it was Apollo, it was Jupiter, who had offered her violence. If a kingdom was to be overthrown, ſome vow unperformed, ſome deity provoked, ſome ſacrifice neglected, had prepared its ruin. Every uncommon occurrence was an omen from heaven: every adventurer, every founder of a hamlet, every inventor of any uſeful art, every perſon diſtinguiſhed by any extraordinary ability of body or mind, was the ſon of a god.

To enter into an explication of the ſeveral fables which form the early part of the Grecian ſtory, belongs not to the preſent plan. The attempt has already been often made. And the various plauſible but unſatisfactory ſyſtems, in which the attempt has generally ended, though conducted with all the aids to be had either from genius or literature, ſufficiently atteſt the obſcurity in which this tract of ancient learning is involved.

It may however be of uſe to enquire, to what cauſes principally may be aſcribed that *love of the marvellous* ſo predominant in the character of the Grecian people, which if it did not create, certainly gave encreaſe to thoſe fabulous accounts, with which ſo conſiderable a portion of their annals is clouded over. Inveſtigating theſe cauſes may perhaps open a way to the diſcovery of ſome ruins of ſacred hiſtory and true religion, yet lying immerſed, as is very probable, under that confuſed rubbiſh of ancient fictions.

Various are the cauſes, to which this romantic turn, ſo remarkable in the Grecian tribes, is to be imputed. It may be ſufficient to trace thoſe, which ſeem to have had the principal ſhare in the forming of the national character.

I. From Egypt, the Grecian hiſtorians acknowledge, came the gods of Greece. And, in a certain ſenſe, this appears to be true of all the ancient deities, the Phrygian Cybelè, or Great Mother, the Phœnician Aſtartè, the Syrian Thammuz, of the pagans. By going back therefore to this pregnant ſource of heathen fiction, we may be enabled to deſcry, what gave origin to ſeveral of the prepoſterous divinities with which Greece diſhonoured her altars, and how it came to paſs that ſo many legendary tales have darkened the early annals of that people.

The wiſdom of the Egyptians was in high eſtimation from remote time. In ſome few generations after the diſperſion from the vale of Shinar, an extenſive population had already taken place in the Egyptian land, civil eſtabliſhments had been formed, and a reſpectable kingdom had grown up. The periodical ſwellings of the Nile had ſoon inſtructed the inhabitants in the utility of aſtronomical obſervations and the practice of geometry. From theſe primary arts various improvements followed. The revolutions of our planetary ſyſtem, the orbit deſcribed by the ſun in his yearly courſe, the riſing and ſetting of the conſtellations viſible in the Egyptian hemiſphere, which in that climate preſent to the eye a ſplendor unknown to our regions, became objects of the public attention; and to point out to the huſbandman the purpoſes to which this ſtudy of the heavens was to be applied, and to encourage and guide thoſe rural labours with which the national proſperity was in an intimate manner connected, in Egypt were among the moſt important occupations of government. In order likewiſe to render more effectual the fertilization which their annual floods poured in upon them, means were found to heighten the inundation when too low, or to check it when exuberant: aqueducts, conſtructed with amazing induſtry, taught the waters to viſit thoſe plantations to which nature ſeemed to have refuſed them; and Egypt ſaw her fortunate plains crowned with all the treaſures of the year. Mean while a number of cities, temples, palaces aroſe, and the towering ſummits of obeliſks and pyramids met the eye on every ſide, ſome of which, though expoſed through the long period of forty centuries to repeated inſults from the hand of hoſtility, from curioſity, from avarice, from ſuperſtition, remain

to this day ſtupendous monuments of the wiſdom and power of Egypt's princes, and of the ability and boldneſs of the Egyptian architect.

TOGETHER with theſe advantages of nature and art, the early inhabitants of Egypt could not but have poſſeſſed ſome memorials of the hiſtory, the corruption, and overthrow of the antediluvian world, and of the renovation of the human race by the mercy vouchſafed to Noah. In thoſe other diviſions of mankind, among whom ages of barbarity and brutal ignorance intervened, ſuch memorials may be ſought for in vain. Not ſo in Egypt. There, from Noah's days, an uninterrupted civilization obtained. Mizraim, Noah's grandſon, the founder of the Egyptian people, muſt have ſeen the venerable reſtorer of human kind; and however he might have been involved in the guilt of his father, the impious Ham, he could not be a ſtranger to the late wonderful events; he muſt have beheld the Ark, an object doubtleſs often viewed with reverence by the immediate progeny of the perſons that had been ſaved in it; and very probably he had heard from Noah's own lips the divine warnings with which he had been favoured, and to which he owed his preſervation. The importance of the tradition was a pledge, that it would not be forgotten. Every father would naturally deliver the intereſting narrative to his ſon, and the ſon with equal intereſt recount it to his children. And what muſt have impreſſed the more forcibly theſe ſacred truths on the minds of the Egyptians, conſtant opportunities occurred of reviving the remembrance of them, by the intercourſe they had with the patriarchal families of Abraham, of Jacob, of Joſeph and his brethren, and of their poſterity,

proſterity, during their abode in the land of Egypt.

But, with all theſe precious means of inſtruction in their power, the Egyptians did nevertheleſs after ſome generations ſink into an idolatry, the groſſeſt upon record in the annals of paganiſm. Not content with worſhiping, after the manner of moſt idolatrous nations of early time, the hoſt of heaven, ſcarcely was there a part of the creation which the Egyptians did not enroll among their gods, the beaſt of prey, the vile reptile, the herb of the field, the inanimate maſs.

To the illiberal policy of the princes and prieſts of Egypt, between whom a ſtrict connection of intereſts intervened, theſe debaſing errors owed their beginning. Jealous of the neighbouring nations, and probably ſtill more jealous of the bulk of the Egyptian people, they conceived the project of ſpreading a myſterious veil over whatever ſacred traditions and valuable diſcoveries they were poſſeſſed of, and of eſtabliſhing to themſelves, for their own ambitious purpoſes, an excluſive property in them. Accordingly, an enigmatical language was adopted. And in this language the whole hiſtory of Egypt, whether religious, or civil, or natural, was to be recorded. Inſtead of characters of a determined and familiar ſignification, through which a general knowledge might have been conveyed, emblematical figures and an allegorical imagery, taken from the whole range of the created world, were employed. The ſharp-eyed hawk was the emblem of the Supreme Intelligence, whoſe all-ſeeing providence rules the univerſe. The lion, from his rapid and violent nature, the wolf, from his fierceneſs and keen

ſight, became types of the ſun: the cat, from the ſparkling of its eyes and its faculty of ſeeing in the dark, the ſymbol of the moon. The figure of the dog ſignified ſagacity and faithfulneſs: that of the bull, rural induſtry. The beetle denoted a warrior: the winding wreaths of the ſerpent were types of the oblique motions of the heavenly luminaries: the grave owl, bird of night (the ſeaſon of contemplation) was the emblem of wiſdom; the ibis, the Egyptian ſtork, of the faithful patriot; the crocodile, of impudence, violence, cruelty.

NEITHER did the Egyptian mythologiſts confine themſelves to ſuch animals as the natural world preſented them; they invented creatures, the produce of their own imagination, many of them of ſhapes mingled and incongruous, concealing however under uncouth features abundance of uſeful knowledge. For example, the Sphinx, in its upper part a female, but with the body of a lion, indicated the ſeaſon of the overflowing of the Nile, at what time the ſun had its courſe through that portion of the heavens wherein, according to the aſtronomer, are the ſigns of the lion and the virgin. In like manner, on the body of an ape was ſometimes placed the head of a dog, to ſignify uncommon cunning united with vigilance. And thus the fabulous Phœnix, deſtined never to know death, but continually to ariſe again from its own funeral pile with renewed life and a richer plumage, was the emblem of the ſoul's immortality; a doctrine to which, from this very allegorical fiction, it is evident the Egyptians were not ſtrangers.

EVEN things without life were taught to bear a part in this allegoric alphabet. A circle denoted eternity;

eternity; a ſceptre, with an eye on the top of it, was the ſymbol of the divine omnipreſence; a ſword, the type of a ſanguinary tyrant.

In a word, whatever by the moſt diſtant and even partial reſemblance could ſuggeſt any idea of the great Creator of all; or of any of thoſe mental excellences which he has beſtowed on humankind; or of the courſe, revolutions, and ſuppoſed powers of the heavenly bodies; or of the hiſtory and operations of nature in this lower world; or could be the means of perpetuating the remembrance of any of the nobler exploits or guilty reigns of Egypt's kings, or of any ſignal events affecting the Egyptian fortune; every thing of this kind found a place in theſe allegorical collections.

And the more effectually to protect their ſymbolical records from the raſh expoundings of the vulgar, theſe ſeveral figures were engraven in the veſtibules and on the pillars and walls of their ſacred edifices, and altogether entruſted to the cuſtody and interpretation of the ſacerdotal families, in which, by the Egyptian conſtitution, the prieſthood deſcended from father to ſon with a care ſo ſcrupulous, that it would have been the higheſt profanation to admit to it any of alien race.

The religious celebrations of Egypt were in the ſame ſtyle of allegory. They conſiſted chiefly of enigmatical pageants and ſymbolical repreſentations, which ſeem to have had originally a ſignification very different from what the ignorance and ſuperſtition of ſucceeding ages have annexed to them. Among the principal allegoric perſonages exhibited in theſe ſolemnities, were Oſiris, Iſis, and Typhon. From ancient writers it appears,

appears *, that Oſiris and Iſis were to Egypt the ſtated emblems of whatever is friendly and promotive of felicity to mankind; and that, in oppoſition to theſe imagined patrons of human weal, Typhon was the type of miſrule, and diſaſter, and deſtruction. It is however evident, that Oſiris and Iſis, in conformity with whatever was the particular purpoſe of each celebration, bore a different character, and accordingly were inveſted occaſionally with different ſymbols. Sometimes Oſiris repreſented the Supreme Lord of nature; and as ſuch, he was adorned with the enſigns of royalty, and with whatever ſymbols were ſuppoſed to indicate wiſdom and goodneſs. Sometimes he was the Sun. Under this character, various were the emblems they arrayed him with: the moſt remarkable was his having, inſtead of a human head, the head of a hawk, and frequently that of a lion. In his ſolar character, he had alſo ſometimes the title of Hercules, or rather, as the Phœnicians call him, *Harokel*, that mighty *voyager*, who in the execution of his appointed labours *goeth forth from the uttermoſt parts of the heaven, and runneth about unto the end of it.* Pſ. 19. 4. To this idea of the ſun the Hercules of Egypt, originally an allegorical perſonage, probably owes the place he occupies in Egyptian ſtory. Sometimes Oſiris was the emblem of fertility, derived to this lower world from the cheriſhing heat of the ſolar orb; he was then crowned with ivy, and had nearly the emblems appropriated by Greece in after time to her allegorical god of vintage. He was ſaid to be the

* Plutarch. de Iſid. et Oſir.

huſband

husband of Isis: as such, he was represented making her the object of his attention, and sharing with her in those benevolent dispensations to man in which she is supposed to be employed. In like manner, Isis was sometimes the Earth, the parent of vegetation, with ears of corn or a bushel on her head; sometimes she had bull's horns, as the patroness of vegetation; her body, as that of the general nurse of the animal world, was hung round with prominent breasts; her hand supported the Egyptian sistrum or timbrel, expressive of the harmony prevailing in the government of the universe; her brows were adorned with the lunar crescent, when she represented the Moon; and when she was made the emblem of divine wisdom, whose depth is not to be scanned by mortal eye, she was figured under the integuments of a veil.

But of all the religious celebrations in which this allegorical personage made her appearance, the most worthy of notice was the anniversary of the Lamentations of Isis. On this occasion, the symbolical deity wore the garb of sorrow, appearing to mourn some calamity which in a remote period had visited Egypt. Every Egyptian was required to join in the Lamentations, said to be on account of the death of Osiris, whose body Isis had sought for with anxious but fruitless diligence, after he had fallen a victim to the violence of the wicked Typhon. To these effusions of woe the four first days of the solemnity were sacred: they were then succeeded by the most extravagant exultations; *Osiris was found! Osiris was restored to life!* and the festival closed with a general rejoicing throughout Egypt.

THE antiquarian has endeavoured to trace the riſe of this ſuperſtitious obſervance in the annals of Egypt. Oſiris, it has been pretended, was one of the moſt illuſtrious of Egypt's kings, who after a reign of much glory, and many noble atchievements for the happineſs of mankind, periſhed at laſt by the ſecret treachery of his brother Typhon, and his murder was diſcovered and revenged by his faithful queen Iſis. But, not to mention other objections, in this ancient celebration we find a number of myſterious rites, of which the fact here ſtated affords no ſolution.

FROM the allegorical repoſitories of the ancient Egyptians we poſſibly may obtain better information. Iſis, among the other ſymbolical characters ſhe ſuſtained, was the Earth; Oſiris the Sun; and Typhon was avowedly the emblem of barrenneſs and devaſtation, and ſeems in particular to have been conſidered by the Egyptians as the author of that kind of miſchief which irruptions of the *ſea* may occaſion. If there ever was a time therefore, when by the *breaking up of the fountains of the great deep* our earth was laid in ruins; when the ſun, by the intervention of heavy exhalations ariſing from this maſs of waters, had no longer the power of exerciſing his genial influence on the terreſtrial globe; and that principle of light, heat, and fertility was thereby loſt to this nether world; in ſuch an event might the interpretation of this ancient Egyptian tale not improbably be found. Now ſuch an event do our holy records, in the hiſtory of the univerſal Deluge, actually preſent us with.

To

To the plauſibility of this conjecture the voice of all Egypt from remote ages ſeems to bear witneſs. The ſea was by the ancient Egyptians expreſsly called Typhon. The foam of the ocean had the ſame appellation. The *monſter of the waters*, ſaid the people of Hermopolis, was the foe that ſlew Oſiris. And ſo deep an impreſſion did theſe untraced, and therefore ill-underſtood, memorials leave on the Egyptian mind, that for many ages the ſea was an abomination to the Egyptians, without their attempting to aſſign the cauſe. A fiſh was their ſtated emblem of hatred. Sea-ſalt, which they called the froth of Typhon, was prohibited to their prieſts. And ſuch an abhorrence of the ſea were the Egyptians poſſeſſed with, that not only were they utterly averſe from the occupation of the mariner, but to have had ſo much as a caſual intercourſe with a ſea-faring man the prieſts would have accounted a defilement. To cut off all communication with perſons employed in the maritime life, even the ſhips of other nations were not permitted to enter the ports of Egypt, that of Naucratis * only excepted: and whenever a veſſel by ſtreſs of weather was driven upon any other part of the coaſt, the maſter was required to make oath of the urgent neceſſity, and without delay to ſet ſail for the port aſſigned by law.

If we caſt our eyes on the map of Egypt, and conſider, that to no country nature has offered more important commercial advantages; if we reflect, that ſhe had the command of the Mediterranean, the command of the Arabic gulph; that

* Herod. Euterpe.

the

the wealth of her Tyrian neighbours aroſe from that very trade which ſhe caſt from her; and that under the Ptolemies, when other maxims were adopted, commerce gave to Egypt thoſe immenſe treaſures, which in after ages made even imperial Rome behold the Egyptian opulence with envy—ſuch a ſettled abhorrence of the ſea, in oppoſition to ſo many powerful pleadings both of convenience and intereſt, naturally ſuggeſts the belief, that there muſt have been from early days ſome ſtrong prejudice on the minds of this people, ſome latent cauſe, that dictated an averſion ſo extraordinary.

WHAT ſtrengthens the ſuſpicion, that under theſe enigmatical obſervances the univerſal deluge was commemorated by the Egyptians, is a circumſtance recorded by hiſtorians to have taken place in all the ſolemnities, wherein the perſonage of Iſis had any ſhare. The goddeſs was exhibited to view, ſeated in a carriage reſembling a ſhip *. Now whence this pageant? What could be the ſignification of a naval emblem to a people abhorring navigation, unleſs that ſymbolic figure was a memorial of the Ark, to which the human race owed their reſtoration?

* This ancient memorial appears to have been in uſe among other nations, and wherever it was found, to have been of an origin obſcure and myſterious. Tacitus (Germ. c. 9.) mentions it as one of the principal objects of the religion of ſome of the tribes of the Suevi: nor will this inquiſitive hiſtorian pretend to account for it. *Pars Suevorum et Iſidi ſacrificat: unde cauſa et origo peregrino ſacro, parum comperi; niſi quòd ſignum ipſum, in modum liburnæ figuratum, docet* advectam *religionem.* An inference, that does not ſeem to follow of neceſſity. See on this ſubject Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. 7. and Bryant's Mythol.

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The ſame arts, which ſpread this enigmatical covering over the hiſtory of the deluge, appear to have been employed in diſguiſing alſo whatever other traditions had come down to them from the primeval times: ſuch were, the ſtate of our firſt parents in the innocence of paradiſe, the fall of the rebellious angels, the profligacy and daring deeds of the nations preceding the flood. Of theſe venerable traditions it was ſcarcely poſſible that the firſt Egyptian mythologiſts ſhould have been altogether ignorant. But transformed by the embelliſhments of allegory, the facts themſelves aſſumed a new appearance, and in a manner diſclaimed their origin. Hence the golden age of humankind, fondly ſung by the poets of paganiſm, but realized only in the bowers of Eden. Hence the attempt of the giants to ſcale the heavens. Hence perhaps the cup of Circe. And hence, it may be, even the horrid banquets of Lycaon, of Tantalus, together with the ſignal vengeance which their impiety provoked.

But however ingenious many of theſe enigmatical coverings may have been, or whatever wiſdom may oftentimes have been couched under them, they certainly ruined the religion of Egypt. Accuſtomed from their infancy to behold with awful reverence the ſculptures that adorned their temple walls, and forbidden to enquire into their meaning, the Egyptians were eaſily induced to ſuppoſe, there muſt be ſomewhat of a divine nature in the animals whoſe repreſentations the public piety had thus conſecrated. Under this impreſſion, ſcarcely was there a part of the brute creation, from the fierce monarch of the foreſt to the reptile that licks the duſt, of which the Egyptian did not become the abject worſhipper. To have

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ſlain even by chance one of thoſe ſacred animals, had been more highly criminal than to have plunged the dagger into the breaſt of a fellow citizen; the incenſed populace would have riſen inſtantly to puniſh the impiety; as we learn from teſtimony they were always ready to riſe, the one againſt the other, in vindication of their ſeveral objects of worſhip.

If the holy ſculptures miſled the people of Egypt, the allegorical perſonages they were accuſtomed to produce in their religious pomps miſled them more. They wanted knowledge to diſcern, what part of nature each typical figure there exhibited was meant to perſonate, or to what ancient event it might be an alluſion, or what was to be underſtood by the various emblems with which the ſeveral perſonages were arrayed. Hence they credulouſly realized what was only allegory, and in every pageant ſaw a god.

Succeeding ages rendered by adulation the unfolding of theſe myſteries a taſk of greater difficulty. Along with the more important incidents of ſacred and natural hiſtory, their political ſtory was alſo blended. Thus under the character of Oſiris, of the celeſtial Hercules, of mother Iſis, the kings and queens of Egypt were frequently introduced into their feſtal proceſſions: new emblems were ſuperadded to thoſe that uſed to diſtinguiſh the allegorical divinity, to mark the exploits and the fortunes of their ſeveral princes: and alluſions were made to events, which ceaſed to be underſtood as ſoon as the memory itſelf was loſt of the facts to which they pointed.

The ignorance of the prieſts completed the confuſion. The prieſts of early Egypt, however chargeable with a dark incommunicative reſerved-

neſs in relation to the multitude, were men of deep enquiry, diſciples of ſcience. The hiſtory of the ancient world, of the heavens, of nature, as far as known in that infancy of the world, they knew. The hyeroglyphics and allegories of Egypt were particularly their invention: in theſe characters they regiſtered whatever diſcoveries they had obtained, and muſt therefore have underſtood well a language of which they were the framers. After ſome ages, a different ſucceſſion of prieſts aroſe. Whatever was the cauſe, whether the violences of an arbitrary government, or the general corruption of manners with which Egypt ſeems to have been overſpread, thoſe liberal occupations, in ancient days the pride of the ſacerdotal ſages of Sais, of Heliopolis, of Memphis, were laid aſide. The Egyptian temples were no longer the abode of contemplation. Till at length, theſe boaſted repoſitories of wiſdom fell into contempt, and the holy records became unintelligible to the prieſts themſelves.

At the time when the firſt Egyptian coloniſts entered Greece, the wiſdom of Egypt ſtill retained a conſiderable portion of its original purity. The ſeveral excellent inſtitutions introduced by Cecrops (who with good reaſon is ſuppoſed to have been of the ſacerdotal order of Egypt) his law of marriage, his rites of interment, and eſpecially his erecting an altar to the Ruler of the Univerſe under the title of the Moſt High, and appointing the manner in which he ſhould be honoured, afford abundant evidence, that this ſage founder of the Athenian ſtate had a religion far above the ſuperſtitious abſurdities which in ſome generations after were adopted by Egypt. However, together with theſe Egyptian ſtrangers, the

language

language of allegory got entrance into Greece. It was the firſt kind of learning Greece was made acquainted with. From the Egyptian coloniſts the Greeks might doubtleſs have received notices of what had happened in the antediluvian ages, of the various dicoveries made in the works of nature, of the progreſs of human arts among the more civilized nations: but then theſe informations were conveyed to them under the uninſtructive diſguiſe of ſome enigmatical fable, or diſfigured by ſupernatural incidents, the tales of artifice, and oftener perhaps of ignorance. Had any extraordinary feat of ſtrength or activity been wrought? The champion, who had atchieved it, had an hundred hands, or had cut his way through the air by the help of wings with which ſome heavenly protector had furniſhed him. A head ſet round with eyes was employed to expreſs unwearied vigilance. If a prince excelled in ſubtilty, he was ſaid to be in part ſhaped like a ſerpent. If any brute inmate of the foreſt was uncommonly fierce, his feet were of braſs, and his noſtrils exhaled devouring flames. On the minds of a people juſt emerging from ſavage life, and diſpoſed to liſten to every tale of wonder with an eagerneſs proportioned to its incredibility, it is eaſy to imagine what an impreſſion theſe fictions muſt have made: every allegory became to them a fact, every embelliſhment a reality. Thus the Sphinx, in Egypt the mere work of the ſculptor, in Greece was a living monſter, of whoſe parentage and fell deeds the Grecian fabuliſt ſpoke largely. And thus the Phœnix, that ingenious emblem to which the inventive fancy of ſome Egyptian ſage had given birth, by the ſimple Greeks was made really to exiſt; and ſo low down as the

days

days of Herodotus*, we find the hiſtorian gravely deſcribing the form and rich plumage of a miraculous bird, which no region of the earth has ever ſeen.

THE hiſtory of the natural world, recited in the like figurative ſtyle, aſſumed the ſame romantic appearance. The ſun was a mighty potentate: our earth, or ſometimes the moon, was his conſort. Every celeſtial luminary, every work of the creation included within the cognizance of thoſe early times, hád the Egyptian ſages, as we have obſerved, transformed in like manner into perſonages, under the myſterious ſtory of whoſe fortunes they were wont to deſcribe what were ſuppoſed to be the revolutions, the powers, and properties of ſuch parts of nature as they had knowledge of. Habituated therefore from infancy to this fantaſtic imagery, of whoſe real meaning they were ignorant, the Egyptian coloniſts were but too apt to imagine, that from every object which they beheld ſome ideal being was ſtarting forth; and what the Egyptian ſaid he ſaw, the Greek, new and amazed, imagined he ſaw alſo.

GREECE even exceeded Egypt in the multitude of her gods. Among the ruins of true religion, to be traced by an attentive eye through many parts of that rubbiſh the Egyptian idolatries preſent us with, appear manifeſt veſtiges of one important truth, that "there exiſts One ſupreme, "infinitely perfect, Creator and Governor of all." Of this Unity of the Godhead the Egyptians, from the hiſtory of their own Oſiris, ſeem to have been well appriſed. Oſiris, who bore indifferently at times this character and that of Iſis, was

* Herod. Euterpe. See Tacit. Ann. 6, 28.

to

to the Egyptians a kind of univerſal god: he was made to repreſent the ſolar orb, to repreſent various parts of nature, to repreſent the ſeveral divine attributes of which the Egyptians had any conception, the infinite power, wiſdom, goodneſs of the Supreme Being. And ſuitably to whatſoever part this allegorical being was to ſuſtain, or whatever act or attribute of the Almighty he was to typify, he was adorned with correſponding ſymbols, and as the occaſional ſolemnity required, wore the appearance now of ſome object in heaven, again of ſome object upon earth. This perplexity of myſteries was more than the rude Greeks were able to comprehend. What the Egyptians aſcribed to one, they aſcribed to many, to every quality of the divine nature aſſigning a diſtinct god. Thus to Jupiter they apportioned power; to Minerva wiſdom; the diſtributions of juſtice to Aſtræa, to Nemeſis, to the Eumenides; the bounty of Providence in beſtowing vegetation and fertility on the earth was attributed to the allegorical goddeſs of harveſts, to the god of vintage, and to thoſe numerous rural deities whom it was the practice of Greece to produce in her religious feſtivals: Juno was the ſovereign of the aerial regions, Diana of the foreſts; Venus, the queen of beauty, preſided over the encreaſe of the animal creation; Apollo, god of light, took charge alſo of health, poetry, muſic, prophecy. So that ſuperſtition had here a much wider range than it ever had even in Egypt; and, in addition to the Egyptian fables, from this multiplicity of gods aroſe a multiplicity of new fictions, uncouth mixtures of Egyptian wiſdom and Grecian ignorance. Of this claſs are many of the legendary labours of the Grecian Hercules, the birth of Minerva, and that ſtrange

monument

monument of pagan abſurdity, the birth of Venus.

II. As the improvements of ſociety advanced, the Greeks, inſtead of obtaining thereby a better informed judgment, had their imagination diſtempered more ſtrongly than ever by the illuſive ſcenery which the religion of Egypt diſplayed to them. The Egyptians taught the Greeks agriculture. And as might naturally have been expected, the grateful commemoration of ſo important a bleſſing held ever a high rank among the religious ſolemnities of the Grecian people. But unhappily this holy inſtitution proceeded on the Egyptian plan. Inſtructed by the example of Egypt, the Greeks made enigmatical figures the principal ornaments of the ſacred pomp; and agriculture and its ſeveral attendant arts were accordingly all introduced into their feſtive ſhews under the form of allegorical perſonages, whoſe true meaning being revealed only to the prieſts and their favourite votaries, to the ignorant multitude theſe ſplendid but enſnaring repreſentations ſeemed real gods, and as in Egypt, ſo in Greece, they became the great objects of the national piety.

III. The myſteries of Egypt had certainly a principal ſhare in eſtabliſhing the empire of idolatry throughout the pagan world: very probably to them idol-worſhip owed its riſe; and what hiſtory tells us of the lamentations of the Syrian women for the death whether of Thammuz or Adonis*, that favourite celebration of the Aſiatic

* Bryant Mythol. II 186.

nations—the mournings of the Phrygian Damater, or Mother-Earth, for her beloved Attis—the travels and exploits of the Egyptian Bacchus through the univerſe, and the veneration paid to the name of that allegorical conqueror by the tribes of Indoſtan to the days of Alexander—ſeem to have been all originally tranſcripts from the Egyptian mythology. But with the people we ſpeak of, it was not merely in their religious ſolemnities that the ſpirit of allegory ſhewed itſelf: it took entire poſſeſſion of the Grecian mind. Not only it gave a religion to Greece; it gave to her language that glow of animation, of which in her brighter days her poets, orators, and even hiſtorians have ſo happily availed themſelves; it modelled her early annals; it inveſted with dignity her boaſted heroes, the founders of her ſeveral ſtates; and to all the moſt trivial atchievements of her early days it communicated an importance, which poſterity has, perhaps too implicitly, admired.

IV. THERE appears to have been moreover ſomething in the Grecian character, congenial with that ſpirit of romance introduced from Egypt. The natives of Greece have from early time been in poſſeſſion of a certain ſprightlineſs of imagination, to which their climate has been thought by many to have contributed largely, and of which, the modern traveller tells us, not all the oppreſſions of a deſpotiſm of two thouſand years have been able entirely to deſpoil them. And it was to the imagination principally, that the language of allegory addreſſed itſelf. It was (to uſe the words of a late ingenious writer*) *a*

* Enquiry into the life, &c. of Homer, p. 169.

ſyſtem

ſyſtem of natural ſimilies. It called forth the fancy. It gave perſon to every object. It ſhewed all nature enlivened and in action. It beſtowed voice and motion on the inanimate rock, and ſentiment on the tiger of the deſart. In every thicket it ſaw a dryad; in every river it found a god.

ACCORDINGLY, in the conſtruction of the Grecian mythology, all the creative powers of the imagination ſeem to have exerted their utmoſt vigour. At early dawn, it was a band of blooming virgins, *the hours*, ſaid the Grecian religioniſt, that threw open the palace of light, and prepared the golden car for the purple-robed goddeſs of the morning. The ſun aroſe. The effulgent orb was the ſeat of a god, governed by whoſe powerful hand his fiery courſers performed their appointed journey through the heavens. He was ſucceeded by the moon. Here again, the pale empreſs of the night had her chariot of ſilver, and as ſhe rode along, the ſhades of darkneſs vaniſhed before her. Every planet, every ſtar, had in like manner his peculiar divinity, whoſe guidance he obeyed. Even the rainbow was the vehicle of a deity, the official meſſenger from the gods above to the inhabitants of the earth; whenever the goddeſs deſcended, the bright radiance announced her ſacred preſence. Nor were the great luminaries and reſplendent appearances, which the heavens exhibit, the only parts of the creation on which divine honours were conferred. All nature, air, fire, water, earth, every object, every incident of life, the operations and qualities of the human mind, our hopes and fears, even our ſenſual paſſions, were made to aſſume perſonages, and were exalted into divinities. Whether the Grecian ranged the mountain or traverſed the glade, every where

he met with ſome local deity, at every river, ſpring, and brook: if the reſponſive echo from a neighbouring hill ſtruck his ears, if the breeze whiſtled through the grove, or the howling tempeſt ſhook the foreſt, ſtill it was the voice of ſome ſuperior being, in whoſe protection he had confidence, or whoſe dreaded wrath made him tremble.

A HISTORY compiled under impreſſions ſuch as theſe, could not but be ſtrongly marked with the credulity of the compiler. The foe, whom the eye of ſober reaſon would have beheld with contempt, became a formidable giant. The novel ſight, ſcarcely a moment's wonder to a knowing age, grew into a prodigy. It had been deemed a diſhonour to the hero whoſe name was to be recorded, had his exploits been deſtitute of the embelliſhments which thoſe times of ſuperſtition were in the uſe of beſtowing on their favourite chieftains.

V. THE ſtate of the country likewiſe, when the firſt coloniſts entered Greece, was of a nature to encourage theſe fancies. It was for the moſt part covered with foreſts, the growth of ages, whoſe gloomy aſpect to an uninſtructed peaſantry was a conſtant exciter of awful ſuggeſtions. Where the land was not occupied by wood, a richly diverſified ſcenery met the eye, abounding in delightful landſcapes, enchanting proſpects, and thoſe ſeveral beauties which ſuch a lovely region as Greece, even with no ornaments but thoſe of nature, may be ſuppoſed capable of exhibiting: in all which the animated imagination of the untaught ruſtic might eaſily trace veſtiges of ſome reſiding divinities. On every ſide aroſe a variety of hills and mountains,

mountains, whoſe groteſque ſhapes and ſportive echoes afforded full employment to a ſuſceptible mind; or whoſe majeſtic ſummits, enriched with all the radiance of the riſing or departing day, or the ſofter glories of the luminary of the night, the habitation doubtleſs, ſaid ſuperſtition, of ſuperior intelligences, impreſſed a ſacred horror. In one part, the diſtant ſea, whoſe ſwelling ſurges indicated ſome mighty ruler, opened to the view. In another, a ſudden torrent, burſting forth from the midſt of the rocks, ſeemed to obey ſome inviſible agent, and at his bidding to pour his foamy caſcades down the precipice. Here was a grotto, which appeared to have been ſcooped by the hand of an immortal. And there yawned a cavern, the imaged abode of the guardian genius of the vale.

VI. WHAT rendered theſe impreſſions the more effectual, was the mode of occupation of the primitive Greeks for ſome generations after the Egyptians had come among them. Their habits of life were habits of adventure and impetuous enterpriſe, which inceſſantly preſented a ſucceſſion of new objects to the paſſions, exerciſed and ſtrengthened the imagination, and gave a certain enthuſiaſm to the mind. They were all hunters and warriors, engaged in the rapid purſuits of the chace, or in tumultuary exploits of arms for the invaſion or the defence of ſome infant hamlet. Among the Attic tribes, cultivation and civil arrangement began to be known from the days of Cecrops. But it was not until the days of Erectheus, that huſbandry and the arts of peace had made any conſiderable progreſs, even in Attica. Whilſt the reſt of Greece had ſcarcely any other employment

ment than the ſports of the foreſt, or the executing or revenging ſome deed of ſavage proweſs.

VII. To the enigmatical language of the Egyptian coloniſts Greece ſeems alſo to have been indebted for that ſtrange variety of transformations recorded in the Grecian legend, with which the ſportive Ovid has adorned his romantic verſe. In Egypt, as we have obſerved, every ſlighteſt reſemblance was ſufficient to furniſh an emblem. The verdant tree, the fragrant ſhrub, the gay flower, were ſymbols of the bloom of youth and the charms of beauty. The laborious inſect, the ſpider, the ant, the bee, were types of induſtry. Hoſtile rage was depicted by a bird of prey; ſanguinary fierceneſs by the prowler of the foreſt. What in Egypt was only alluſion, the Greek underſtood literally. To him the induſtrious Arachné was transformed into a real ſpider; the Arcadian tyrant, guilty of the barbarous rite of human victims, into a wolf; the vindictive Niſus into a hawk. One fair maiden became a laurel; another was changed into a poplar. Narciſſus was turned into a daffodil; Hyacinthus into a violet.

VIII. To the abſtruſe mythology of the Egyptians ſucceeded the more liberal inſtruction of the eaſtern nations. About eighty years after the arrival of the Egyptian ſtrangers, certain bands of Idumæans, more generally known by the name of Phœnicians*, landed in Greece, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in that diſtant part of the country to the

* Their country *Phœnicia*, and the *Red Sea*, whoſe ſhores they inhabited, are ſuppoſed to have had their names from tranſlating literally the name of *Edom* (or Eſau) the *red man*, the father of this nation.

north-

north-eaſt of the Corinthian iſthmus which is waſhed by the Iſmenus, in after time the royal ſeat of the Theban tribe. The hiſtory of the fortunes of theſe Phœnician coloniſts, like that of moſt of the early peoplers, is darkened by a multitude of fables. Of their language we have more authentic accounts. From reſpectable monuments it appears, that among the inhabitants of Idumæa, of Paleſtine, and the neighbouring Arabia, the lettered arts had been cultivated from early time; that inſtead of the difficult and equivocal hieroglyphics of Egypt, theſe Aſiatics employed characters of a known and determined ſignification; that theſe characters the Phœnician coloniſts brought with them into Greece; and that, inſtructed by them, the Greeks thence gradually formed that language, whoſe happy texture, harmonious ſweetneſs, rich variety, and energy of expreſſion have rendered it the delight of the moſt improved nations, and which, by the many immortal works and ſplendid atchievements it has been employed to record, has had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in advancing the glory of the Grecian people.

After the moſt elaborate reſearches it has accordingly been found, that the primary ſixteen letters, of which the ancient Greek alphabet was compoſed, bear a near reſemblance to the Phœnician, Arabic, and Hebrew characters, the languages of which ſeveral nations appear to have been originally kindred dialects, how different ſoever they may have grown by tract of time.

The eaſtern literature however was not of that complexion, to reſtrain the flights of fancy which the ſprightly Greeks had been accuſtomed to indulge. The language of the Orientals was bold and

and figurative; it abounded in metaphor; it loved amplification. Not only every high degree of mental excellence, but even whatever inanimate objects were remarkably great or beautiful, became to them indications of the divinity. The virtuous and wise were sons of God. The flouriſhing land was the garden of God. The lofty mountain was the mountain of God. In addition to this—with them, as well as with the Egyptians, there was a general perſonification of the whole created world. In the oriental ſtyle, the heavens, the orbs of light, the ſea, earth, hills and foreſts, the very chambers of death * were made to *hear*, were made to *ſpeak*, were called upon to *bear witneſs*, were invited to *break forth into ſinging*, to join in the national joy, or partake of the public ſorrow. This enlivened language ſoothed every fondeſt prepoſſeſſion of the viſionary Greeks; it rouſed their imagination, it flattered their vanity, it gratified their ſuperſtition. Theſe ideal beings became to them real divinities, of whoſe preſence they were not leſs aſſured, than they were confident of their protection; and every incident that befel them aſſumed the importance of a divine interpoſition. A lovely maiden, cut off in the bloom of youth, was carried away by the god of the inviſible world enamoured of her charms. A plague raged—the arrows of ſome deity were ſhot forth. A youth gave proof of a happy genius and paſſion for ſcience—he was the darling of Apollo; and whatever were his fortunes, the god had an immediate concern in them.

IX. It happened alſo, that as the Grecian literature was formed on the Phœnician language, the

* Iſaiah c. 14. v. 9.

Greeks

Greeks often availed themſelves of the equivocal meaning of many Phœnician words, and fondly moulded a trivial incident into a miraculous adventure. Thus, becauſe the Phœnician mariners had given to the ſtormy Lipara and the other Volcanic iſlands in the Sicilian ſea the name of *Aiolin*, from *Aiol* which in their language ſignified *a whirlwind*, the Grecian fabuliſt created from thence a divine perſonage, an *Æolus*, to whom the ſovereignty was committed over ſtorms and over this region of ſtorms. And thus probably, in the hiſtory of the Idumæan ſettlement in Bœotia, becauſe the ſame Phœnician term may ſignify either a *bearded javelin* or the *teeth of a ſerpent*, and the word denoting *armed* may alſo be rendered *five*, the Greeks conjured up the *five* companions of Cadmus from a *ſerpent's teeth*, when they ought rather to have ſaid, that he *armed* his ſoldiers with *bearded javelins*.*

X. The uſe of Apologues, familiar at all times to the eaſtern tribes, and introduced with theſe Phœnicians, contributed to falſify the early ſtory of Greece. Apologues were of two kinds; thoſe in which the brute or inanimate creation were the orators, having language and ſentiment aſcribed to them, ſuch as the fables of Æſop and the Perſian Lokman; and thoſe that related tales of the gods, or the principal characters, real or fabulous, of the heroic ages, under which was couched ſome lively or inſtructive moral. Of this latter kind are many to be found in the hiſtory of the infancy of Greece. Such was the

* Bochart Chron. I. 19. et paſſim. Bryant Mythol. book 3. p. 315.

tale of Prometheus, with his fire from heaven, and his man of clay; the tale of Phaeton and the chariot of the ſun; of Ixion and the cloud; of Bellerophon attempting to aſcend to the ſkies; of Paris and the golden apple. Such was Prodicus's ingenious apologue of the Choice of Hercules; and ſuch the ſtory of the pride and puniſhment of the ill-fated Niobe.

And this kind of apologue was threefold: for either the perſons introduced were purely imaginary, as ſeems to have been the caſe of Prometheus and Phaeton; or they were perſons like Bellerophon and Niobe, who had really exiſted, but the propriety of character was not obſerved in the ſtories related of them; or laſtly, the apologue faithfully repreſented the caſt of mind by which they were diſtinguiſhed, as in the caſe of Paris and the Theban Hercules.

Now there is reaſon to believe, that the Grecian writers, not attending to the nature and deſign of thoſe early Apologues, have given to many of them very improperly a place in hiſtory, and thus have written gravely of perſonages that never exiſted, and have aſcribed to others adventures for which there was not a ſufficient foundation.

XI. Another conſequence followed from the introduction of the Oriental learning among the Greeks. Their firſt hiſtoric writers compoſed in the ſtyle of poetry; and poetry delights in amplification. Thus the river Styx, whoſe waters were of a morbid quality, was the river of death, and had its courſe through the regions of the infernal world. Thus the cavern, too deep for an unexperienced peaſantry to explore, was the way down to the realms below. And thus every feat in

in which their heroes were employed was the encountering of ſome ravager of horrid form, ſome fiery dragon, ſome many-headed monſter. If a chief returned victorious, and the fame of his exploits ſtruck terror into his enemies, his ſhield was cloathed with horrors, and they were changed into ſtone at the ſight of it. The attempt of the rebellious Titans, who roſe againſt Aſterius of Crete, was a war of the giants againſt the gods; and the weapons he made uſe of to deſtroy them were changed into the thunderbolts of Jupiter.

XII. From that multiplicity of fictitious beings to which Egyptian allegory and the figurative language of the Orientals had given birth, the Grecian poet had alſo an opportunity of rendering his compoſitions the more animated. And he availed himſelf of it. Thus in poetic ſtory, the circumſtances of a country, its rivers, woods, winds, ſeaſons are made to ſuſtain a character, and are brought into action. The very tranſactions of the heart, inveſted with forms, take the place of real perſonages. If a prince permits reflection to moderate his wrath, it is the goddeſs of wiſdom that holds his arm.* If another indulges a looſe paſſion, it is the goddeſs of love whoſe ſummons he obeys.† This is the foundation of that propriety, which, ſay the critics, the great Homer has obſerved in the marſhalling of his gods. With a view of doing honour to his country, he repreſents all the deities of conjugal faith, wiſdom, intrepid courage, as attached to the cauſe of Greece; whilſt Venus, the tempter to ſoft dalliance, and Mars, the inſpirer of brutal

* Iliad. 1. 184. † Iliad. 3. 383.

fury,

fury, declare for Troy. The Trojans had a number of foreſts, ſerving them as places both of ambuſcade and retreat; and accordingly the woodland deities protect the Trojans. The ſtrength and ſupplies of the Greeks being from their fleets, the gods of the ſea are in cloſe confederacy with the Grecian forces.

THUS the hiſtory of theſe gods of fiction was interwoven into the ſtory of Greece; and the people, whoſe delight it was to get by heart and ſing at their feſtive meetings whatever poetic tales related to the one, were at the ſame time poſſeſſed with the ſtrongeſt habits of belief and reverence for the other.

XIII. WHAT contributed to give a ſanction to theſe fabulous deities was the family-pride of the ancient Greek chieftains. Of an obſcure origin, moſt of them ſoldiers of fortune, or bold adventurers, outcaſts perhaps from foreign lands, they ſought to ennoble their extraction by enrolling gods among their progenitors, and rather than not lengthen out their genealogy, they affected to trace it through the records of fiction. Every princely houſe of Greece boaſted accordingly ſome deity for its founder. Cities produced the like claims of ambition and vanity; and ſcarcely was there a principality in all Greece, in the framing of whoſe original eſtabliſhment ſome god, or hero the ſon of a god, had not been employed.

IN that uncivilized ſtate of manners alſo which belonged to the firſt ages, the chaſtity of the women had oftentimes but a feeble protection; and the diſhonoured damſel generally endeavoured to cover her reproach by pleading the ſolicitations,

if

if not the violence, of ſome celeſtial lover. The popular credulity conſpired with the vanity of individuals in adopting the monſtrous legend.

THUS the moſt illuſtrious of the ſtates and families of Greece had an intereſt in ſupporting ſome of the moſt abſurd tales that ignorance or fraud ever invented; and to have queſtioned the fabulous hiſtory of the gods of that country had in many caſes been an inſult to her princes.

XIV. To the illuſions of her infancy the manly age (ſo to ſpeak) of Greece, inſtead of a check, imparted ſtability. As the genius of the people matured, when the pencil and chiſſel began to ſhew what wonders they were able to execute, thoſe fabulous ornaments, hitherto the excluſive property of the poets, and known only to the learned few, were thrown open to general inſpection. What had been the creature of fancy, now aſſumed a viſible ſhape. The Jupiter of Homer became the Jupiter of Phidias. And by degrees, not an imaginary perſonage or romantic adventure had been ſung by ancient bard, which the expreſſive colouring or plaſtic hand of ſome artiſt did not attempt to bring into life. Hence the ſeveral fables occurring in the hiſtory of a Perſeus, a Danae, a Tantalus, a Leda, obtained a ſettled eſtabliſhment. Whilſt the captivated ſpectator dwelt with rapture on the exquiſite imagery, the impreſſion ſunk deep into the mind: the life-emulating picture, the animated ſtatue, grew into *witneſſes* before the undiſcerning, and therefore credulous multitude; and not a doubt remained of the reality of the hero, whom they ſaw preſent, in a manner, to their ſenſes.

XV. If

XV. If the truth of hiſtory ſuffered from the imitative arts, religion felt their influence ſtill more fatally. Of the allegorical beings which the ſtatuary and painter expreſſed after the poet, many became the gods of Greece: magnificent ſtructures were erected for their reception; ſumptuous feaſts were appointed to celebrate their pretended atchievements; and all the powers of art, arrived at its utmoſt ſummit, were employed to exhibit the forms of theſe ideal divinities under a ſhew of majeſty and of beauty calculated to impreſs the beholders with the profoundeſt veneration for the objects of their worſhip. The plan ſucceeded. Idolatry triumphed. To have believed, that the Minerva of Athens was only the *emblem* of divine wiſdom without a bodily exiſtence, whilſt the eye was ſtruck with the dignity of attitude and commanding aſpect which the maſter-hand of Phidias had given to her figure; or that the goddeſs of love was not ſomething more than allegory, when the graces of her perſon were ſeen to ſwell forth in all the ſoftenings of ſculpture; was a degree of mental abſtraction, of which even the acute Greeks could not be ſuppoſed capable. It may now be a taſk of little difficulty to expound many of the myſterious allegories of heatheniſm. We may explain, what was to be underſtood by the car and trident of Neptune, by the chariot of Aurora, and by Phœbus driving his courſers along the ways of heaven. But had we contracted our early habits amid the ſplendid ſhrines and majeſtic forms of theſe allegorical deities; had we been accuſtomed to the melodious hymns ſung in their honour, and the pompous celebration of their ſuppoſed exploits; it had required the ſagacity even of a Socrates not to have been miſled by

names

names and legends, and to be always able to ſee into alluſions which the original fabuliſt might have had in view.

XVI. In corrupting the ancient records of Greece the Grecian Drama had alſo a conſiderable ſhare. The invention both of tragedy and comedy is aſcribed to Athens. But jealous of the national glory to a degree of ſenſibility unexampled in any other people, the Athenians had deemed it a crime, if any entertainment had been produced on the ſtage that was not taken from the adventures of ſome Grecian chieftain, or any tradition adopted that caſt the leaſt diſparagement on the honour of the Athenian people. One tragic writer, Phrynichus,* ventured to bid defiance to the prejudices of theſe haughty republicans: he choſe for his ſubject *the overthrow of Miletus by the Perſian arms*. The humiliation of a Grecian city, though in Aſia, was an inſult ſuch as Grecian pride could not brook; and infamy and a ſevere fine were the rewards of the poet's inſolence. To the annals of fiction therefore the tragic bard was obliged to have recourſe. Thence he transferred into his piece almoſt every ideal inhabitant of heaven or earth that fable had created; and even from hell the tremendous perſonages of the Furies† and of Death‡ were ſometimes called up to affright the ſpectators. Where the ſubject too had its foundation in real hiſtory, many were the changes it was to undergo before

* Herodot. Erato. Strabo l. 14. 437.
† In the Eumenides of Æſchylus.
‡ In the Alceſtis of Euripides.

it

it could take its place on the Grecian ſtage: fable was to lend its ſeveral comments; every vague tradition was called in, that promiſed to throw a deeper ſhade on the tale of woe, or to give the poet occaſion to gratify the pride of a vainglorious audience. In this manner Sophocles, in his two plays of Œdipus, has called in the aid of fiction, at once to render the hiſtory of the unfortunate prince more affecting, and to place in the moſt advantageous point of view the humanity and generous ſpirit of his own countrymen. In the Hippolytus of Euripides likewiſe, popular favour guided the poet's genius. The name of Minos was odious at Athens. And Phædra was the daughter of Minos. Euripides conſtructed his fable accordingly. In his Medea, if we may believe Ælian,* he ſacrificed truth to motives ſtill more ſordid: he ſold Medea to Corinth.

These theatrical repreſentations muſt therefore not ſeldom have betrayed the Grecian people into falſe notions concerning the events of the early ages. The national, and at times, the domeſtic vanity was intereſted in adopting what the poet feigned. The atchievements he celebrated were thoſe of a Grecian anceſtry; the ornaments, however illuſtrious, with which the dramatic hero was arrayed, were the ornaments of a kinſman. The illuſive ſcenery, beſides—the ſplendid decorations, which Athens, in her day of opulence, was wont to beſtow on her theatrical ſhews with an unſparing hand—above all, the poet's ſkill in the conduct of his drama; his energy of language; the pathetic ſituations, in which he

* Hiſt. V. 21.

had

had the art of exhibiting his principal characters; his ſtrict obſervance of nature in aſſigning to each perſonage manners and ſentiments peculiarly ſuited to the part that perſonage was to ſuſtain; and by conſequence, the high probability which the dramatic fable acquired—all contributed to help on the deception, and gave to the Grecian ſtage that faſcinating power, which, by the teſtimony of antiquity, was very hardly to be reſiſted. To the tranſported ſpectator it was no longer poetic artifice, it was all faithful hiſtory: it was pleaſant, and therefore it was right, to believe it true.

XVII. As the dramatic poet did, the other Grecian poets, even in the moſt enlightened ages of Greece, did alſo. Whatever unnatural tale was to be met with in the records of fable, they gave it reception. Every deed of valour was beyond the daring of a mortal. Every extraordinary incident was the work of ſome god. The prince of lyric poets, Pindar, whoſe vigorous genius might have diſdained ſuch reſources, has not only borrowed from the whole range of fabulous ſtory, he himſelf has added largely to it: the fabled adventures of Prometheus, of Ixion, Pelops, the Cadmean family, the Theban Hercules, have obtained from him a kind of hiſtorical dignity; and to his emboldened fancy the double-formed Centaur is ſaid to owe its exiſtence. In celebrating the ſeveral chiefs who are the ſubject of his ſong, he has been not leſs guilty of ſacrificing truth to fiction. Anceſtors to which they had no right,* exploits never atchieved, were placed out

* See Pindar. Olymp. 2. inſcribed to Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, whom the poet feigns to be of the royal houſe of Cadmus. Mem. de l'Acad. Inſcr. Tom. 8.

of the reach of diſpute by the magic of Pindar's verſe, eſpecially when his ſtrains were accompanied, as in the days of Grecian glory they were always accompanied, by the moſt elevating muſic.

XVIII. The feſtivals, moreover, and the ſacred pomps of Greece had a conſiderable influence in diſfiguring its hiſtory. Their religious rites were all tranſcripts from fabulous ſtory or alluſions to it. And throughout the whole country ſcarcely was there an ancient fane, which report had not either honoured with the preſence of ſome god, or made the ſcene of ſome of thoſe ſtupendous actions that ſtand eminent on the rolls of fiction. At Delphi, the oracular ſeat of the Pythian Apollo, the voice of all Greece atteſted the victory, which *the god of the ſilver bow* had there obtained over the monſter Python.* In the Parthenon, the temple of Minerva at Athens, the miraculous ſpringing up of the olive tree at the bidding of the goddeſs † was among the principal ornaments of that ſumptuous edifice, which were all in the ſame fabulous ſtyle. In like manner, in that noble ſtructure ſacred to the Olympian Jove, which Grecian pride had erected on the celebrated banks of the Alpheus, the pagan votary viewed with an awful delight the ſeveral wonderful events to which fiction had given birth, the hiſtory of the Gorgons, of the enchained Prometheus, of Atlas ſupporting the heavens, of the Heſperides and their apples of gold, realized by the hand of the artiſt, and employed in decorating

* Pauſan. Phoc. † Idem in Atticis.

the

the dwelling of the god. Even the Olympic, Nemean, Pythian, and Iſthmian games, thoſe magnificent diſplays of the national piety, were little elſe than remembrances of the mighty deeds which fable had recited of their deities and heroes of remote time. And the more ſplendid was the celebration, the more reſpectable did the fable become.

In thoſe parts of Greece whoſe humbler fortune required a more frugal religion, the ancient legends furniſhed to the popular ſuperſtition other ſupports not leſs effectual. Authentic memorials were exhibited of whatever extraordinary incidents were ſaid to have happened in the ages of fiction. On the road from Megara to Eleuſis was the very ſeat*, upon which Ceres had repoſed herſelf after her painful journeyings in ſearch of her lamented daughter. The Arcadians pointed to the hill † where Pan had invented the flute, and where this their tutelary deity firſt taught his ruſtic minſtrelſy to their ſhepherds. Homer mentions the divine origin of Agamemnon's ſceptre ‡, doubtleſs one of thoſe ancient fictions invented to flatter the vanity of the princes of the Pelopian race in their day of power. It was the work of Vulcan, who made it for Jupiter, who preſented Mercury with it, from whom it paſſed ſucceſſively into the hand of Pelops, of Atreus, of Thyeſtes, and laſtly of Agamemnon. This ſacred pledge of empire the prieſts of Chæronea § pretended to have in their poſſeſſion; and, ſuch were the illuſions of ſuperſtition, the higheſt religious honours were paid to it by the Chæronean people. At Alea || were to be ſeen the tuſk and hide of the

* Pauſan. Attic. p. 41. † Id. Arcad. p. 269. ‡ Iliad. 2. 101. § Pauſan. Bœot. p. 315. || Pauſ. Arcad. 275.

boar of Calydon; at Tegea *, the hair of Meduſa. At Trœzen was the rock †, under which Theſeus found the vouchers of his birth. The people of Nemea ſhewed the identical den of the lion ‡ whom Hercules encountered. Delphi had a greater wonder, the very ſtone § uſed by Rhea to deceive Saturn in order to preſerve the newborn Jupiter: diſguiſed in the ſwadling clothes of the infant, the maſs had been ſwallowed by the god, but, in a ſhort time after, he had thrown it up again. It was one of the daily cares of the Delphic miniſters, at the dawn of morning to pour oil over the ſacred ſtone; and on the greater feſtivals the memory of the ancient tranſaction was revived, by wrapping a cover of wool, freſh from the fleece, round the venerable relic.

SUCH deceptions could not but caſt a deep ſhade over the annals of any people. The fabuliſt controuled the hiſtorian. And whoever queſtioned the legend, had the moſt untoward of national prepoſſeſſions to contend with.

XIX. BUT what ſeems to have conduced not leſs than theſe other cauſes to the admiſſion of fable into the Grecian annals, was that favourite folly of the nations of the earth, in which the Greeks were ſcarcely ſurpaſſed by any, *an affectation of antiquity*. Aſſyria, Egypt, numbered a ſucceſſion of Kings during a length of ages. The vainglorious Greeks muſt prefer a ſimilar claim to remoteneſs of origin; and to fill up the vacant period, they muſt ſuppoſe flouriſhing kingdoms and mighty princes in Greece, at a time when her inhabitants, whoever they were, lived diſperſed

* Pauſ. Arcad. 275. † Id. Corinth. p. 75. ‡ Ib. p. 57. § Phoc. p. 341.

through

through her foreſts, and far from being capable of erecting empires, were even ſtrangers to the common bleſſings of ſocial life. Hence the long line of kings, ſaid to have reigned in Argos, in Sicyon, ſeveral hundred years before Greece had a hamlet to boaſt of. Hence the many names that ſwell the regal liſt even of Athens; princes inſerted that never reigned there, ſuch as Amphictyon; and princes of different appellations, as Erechtheus and Erichthonius, multiplied by Grecian vanity from one into two or more.

XX. This *affectation* prompted them to another diſingenuous practice. The intercourſe they enjoyed with Egypt and the Eaſt had brought in among them many notices of the ancient world and of the Moſaic hiſtory, as well as of the various perſonages, whether real or allegorical, celebrated in Egyptian or Phœnician ſtory. And the Greeks took care to transfer to themſelves every remarkable event recorded by them, ſo as to make Greece the ſcene of whatever tranſaction appeared grand and ſurpriſing. Hence the reſemblance, which has often ſtruck the learned, between many of the mighty deeds aſcribed to the Grecian Perſeus, to Alcmena's ſon, to the allegorical Bacchus of Thebes, and the real exploits of Moſes, of Joſhua, of the Egyptian Seſoſtris, and even the imagined feats of the Oſiris and Hercules of Egypt. The early navigators of Phœnicia had encountered various perils in exploring diſtant lands; and therefore with the like eſcapes was the Argonautic expedition to be adorned. The univerſal deluge forms a memorable epoch in the annals of human kind: therefore Deucalion's flood muſt be an event of not leſs importance.

XXI. NEITHER

XXI. NEITHER is ignorance to be denied its ſhare in the corruptions of early Grecian hiſtory. However ſagacious and learned they became in proceſs of time, in their firſt beginnings the Greeks were a people groſsly ignorant. They had not any knowledge of other nations except from caſual and partial reports.* They had not any knowledge of the founders of their own ſtates, but from oral tradition, or the flighty and impaſſioned ſongs of their bards and itinerant minſtrels, the only records of Grecian proweſs during ſeveral generations. It was not till the days of Piſiſtratus, that the purſuits of ſcience and the culture of the fine arts began to be in eſtimation even at Athens. By that time the ancient fictions had obtained the ſanction of religion, and were become objects of the national reverence. And many years after the triumph of Greece over the Perſian invaders, in her days apparently of higheſt illumination, to have called in queſtion thoſe tales of antiquity was baniſhment to an Anaxagoras, and coſt a Socrates his life.

To theſe ſeveral cauſes may be aſcribed that inundation of fables which overſpreads the remote hiſtory of Greece, fables that have maintained a dominion ſo aſtoniſhing over the human mind, through a large portion of Europe and Aſia, during upwards of fourteen hundred years. For ſuch was the length of ages that intervened, from the firſt ſettling of the Egyptian ſtrangers in Greece, when the mythology of the heathen Greek ritual had its commencement, to the overthrow of paganiſm by the goſpel eſtabliſhment in Conſtantine's days.

* See Plutarch in Cleomenes.

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In their chronology alſo the Greeks were exceedingly inaccurate. The defect is not to be charged only to their ruder ages; it belongs equally to the times, when the lettered arts of Greece were at their higheſt period of glory. After the days of Darius Hyſtaſpis, attempts indeed were made by ſome few writers, Pherecydes the Athenian, Epimenides the hiſtorian, Hellanicus, and others, to aſcertain the date of events from the ſucceſſions of the prieſteſſes of Juno at Argos, from the Archons of Athens, from the kings of Sparta. Theſe calculations however were far from being ſatisfactory; neither did they extend to all Greece, nor to the early ages of the Grecian communities. The uſual reſource of the annaliſt, therefore, was to compute back by generations; in collecting which, he had commonly no better guide than vague conjecture, together with an ill-founded notion that three generations extended to an hundred or an hundred and twenty years. On this principle were conſtructed the great chronological tables of Greece, the Parian Marbles, a monument doubtleſs highly reſpectable and of immenſe labour, but in which the chronologiſt, too faithful to the prepoſſeſſions of his haughty countrymen, has adopted ſome events of a doubtful authority, and ſome evidently fabulous; and by ſuppoſing every generation commenſurate to thirty or forty years, has given to moſt of the early tranſactions of Greece an antiquity that does not belong to them.

Besides, theſe chronological tables were not compiled till about ſixty years after the death of Alexander, near eight hundred after the migration of the Egyptians into Greece; a tract of time ſufficient to have worn out the diſtinct traces of any

any oral tradition, eſpecially where pride and ſuperſtition conſpired to miſrepreſent them. The computation by Olympiads is poſterior by ſome years to the date of the Parian Marbles; but had it even been brought ſooner into uſe, it had been of little ſervice with regard to the firſt ages of Greece, above three hundred and fifty years having elapſed between the arrival of Cecrops and his people, and the regular celebration of the Olympic games after they were reſtored by Iphitus. On theſe ſeveral accounts, the moſt judicious of the later Greek writers, Plutarch eſpecially, have conſidered the chronological reckonings of the firſt ages of Greece as a very precarious dependance, and where they were not controuled by the religion of the country, have in many caſes queſtioned their teſtimony.

THE ſagacity of the great Newton has at length removed much of the obſcurity, of which we have been all along complaining. The taking of Troy is a memorable era in the annals of Greece. Our illuſtrious modern has diſcovered, that the Greek chronologiſts have aſſigned to this event an antiquity greater by ſome hundreds of years than the truth, the date of which with much appearance of reaſon he fixes to about nine hundred years before Chriſt. This important concluſion he ſupports, among other arguments, by the following. From Thucydides we learn, that the Doric revolution in the Peloponneſus, or the return of the Heraclidæ, happened about eighty years after the end of the Trojan war. And from the return of the Heraclidæ to the battle of Thermopylæ, which was in the 480th year before Chriſt, there was a ſucceſſion of ſeventeen kings, in each line, on the Spartan throne. Allowing twenty

twenty years to each king (and it appears from the known hiſtory of ſeveral nations, that in a long ſucceſſion eighteen or twenty years give the mean length of each reign) the ſeventeen Spartan kings fill up a ſpace of 340 years. So that, between the taking of Troy and the battle of Thermopylæ it is highly improbable that more than 420 years ſhould have elapſed. If ſo, Troy was taken about 900 years before Chriſt. The Greek chronologers have ſtretched out the interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and battle of Thermopylæ to the ſpace of 622 years, which would give to each reign 36½ years, a length, in ſuch a ſucceſſion of kings, without example in any authentic hiſtory. Shortening this interval by 282 years, we ſhall arrive, as far as the judgment of man may be depended on, to the true era of the deſtruction of Troy.

6 JU 70